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DIE AUDIENZ BEIM FÜRSTEN.

GESCHICHTE EINES LITERARISCHEN MOTIVS.

UNSERE Zeit überschätzt, wie keine frühere, die Originalität in der Erfindung; und gerade deshalb wird das Publikum periodisch durch die Nachricht von unheimlichen Druckdiebstählen erschreckt. Was hat der Italiener *Giuriati* in seinem grossen Werk *Il Plagio* nicht alles zu erzählen gewusst von Plagiaten zumal der Franzosen und Italiener—dieser beiden Nationen zu-meist, weil er die andern weniger kannte! Und handelt es sich hier um kleine Zwangsanleihen, um Motive, Typen, Situationen, die einem Erfinder von kecken Nacherfindern entwandt sein sollen, so schwelgt unsere Zeit auch in der Vorstellung gewaltigeren Gedankenraubs. Da soll Helmholtz dem Robert Mayer oder Joule, Nietzsche gar dem Max Stirner die Grundgedanken entnommen haben; Lessing und Leibniz werden als Hehler angeklagt, deren Schriften ein ganzes Lager angeeigneter Gedanken darstellen, und andererseits sollen Giordano Bruno, ja Gottsched die eigentlichen Thäter der geistigen Thaten ganzer Jahrhunderte sein, von denen sie stillschweigend ausgebeutet worden wären!

In all dem liegen ungeheuerliche Uebertreibungen. Das Stehlen ist gar nicht so leicht, wie man sich im Publikum vorstellt; wenn auch nicht geläugnet werden soll, welche Meisterschaft in dieser Kunst manche Dichter—und manche Kritiker, manche Gelehrten—und manche "Denker" früherer und neuerer Epochen an den Tag gelegt haben. Der alte *Goethe* hat schon in einem herrlichen Aufsatz "Meteore des literarischen Himmels" auf gewisse

immer wiederkehrende und doch immer wieder falsch gedeutete Erscheinungen in der literarischen Welt hingewiesen: wie irrig leicht besonders die Jugend entdeckt zu haben glaubt, was schon unsere Altvordern wussten; wie schwer Benutzung und Ausbeutung zu unterscheiden sind. Und er bemerkt:

Wir müssen den bildenden Künstler in Schutz nehmen, welcher nicht verdient, Plagiari genannt zu werden, wenn er schon vorhandene, gebrauchte, ja bis auf einen gewissen Grad gesteigerte Motive nochmals behandelt. Die Menge, die einen falschen Begriff von Originalität hat, glaubt ihn deshalb tadeln zu dürfen, anstatt dass er höchlich zu loben ist, wenn er irgend etwas schon vorhandenes auf einen höheren, ja den höchsten Grad der Bearbeitung bringt.

Indess, wie wir sehen, hängt diese Verteidigung an einem "Wenn." Und das eben ist das Schlimme an den wahren Plagiatoren, dass sie das Vorhandene nicht steigern, sondern herunterbringen. *Jeremias Gotthelf*, der Schweizer Realist, schreibt eine prächtige kleine Bauerngeschichte; *Mosenthal*, der Effecthascher, macht ein widerwärtig sentimentales Theaterstück daraus. Wie lächerlich sehen die Nachbildungen des *Schillerschen* Posa, wie hohl die Nachäffungen seines grossen Stils bei kleinen Nachahmern aus!

Sieht man nun aber auf die Literatur im Grossen, so verlieren solche Phänomene den Charakter des Vereinzelten, Zufälligen. Nur wenige Motive, Figuren, Situationen giebt es überhaupt, und immer wieder werden sie von dem Genie "auf einen höheren Grad der Bearbeitung gebracht," von dem Talent auf dem alten Stand gelassen, von dem Pfuscher ruinirt. Wie die unendliche Erscheinungsfülle der physischen Welt aus zahllosen Combinationen weniger Elemente sich aufbaut, so sind auch in der Dichtung der Erfindung enge Schranken gesetzt und über eine begränzte Zahl von Combinationen vermag auch das phantastische Genie des grössten Dichters, ja der ganzen Zeit und der ganzen Nation nicht hinweg zu gelangen.

Wir greifen ein einzelnes Motiv heraus, um nicht etwa in vollständiger Uebersicht — das wäre vergebliches Unterfangen — nein, nur in einer kurzen Auswahl charakteristischer Behandlungen, vorzugsweise aus der neueren deutschen Dichtung, zu zeigen, wie

unvermeidlich es sich eindrängte, aufdrängte, vordrängte, wie wenig Originalität der Erfindung es genialen Poeten liess—und wie viel Individualität in der Bearbeitung es dennoch gestattete!

Menschen und zwar wieder in ihren Beziehungen zu Menschen sind und bleiben ewig der Hauptgegenstand aller Dichtung. Diese Beziehungen sind nun aber in zwiefacher Hinsicht zu betrachten: als äusserliche und innerliche Verhältnisse. Unter dem letzteren Gesichtspunkte stehen wir uns gegenüber als Freunde oder Feinde, Gegner oder Bundesgenossen, Liebende oder Verschmähte. Aeussere Beziehungen sind die der Verwandtschaft: Eltern und Kinder, Geschwister; des Alters: Greis und Jüngling, Altersgenossen; der staatlichen und gesellschaftlichen Ordnung: Priester und Laie, Feldherr und Soldat, Fürst und Unterthan. Als "Naturformen des Menschenlebens" hat *Victor Hahn* in einem schönen Aufsatz sie durch *Goethes* Dichtungen verfolgt. Sie sind ewig, wenn auch natürlich mit den wechselnden Formen des Alters der Abstand etwa zwischen Herr und Diener, die Innigkeit etwa der Liebe, die Macht der Eltern, das Ansehen der Familie wechselt. Und ihre Zahl ist beschränkt, beschränkt selbst wenn wir alle Variationen z. B. des Liebesverhältnisses als selbständige Formen zählen.

Diese Beziehungen spielen in der Literatur durchwegs alle die gleiche Rolle. Der Wichtigkeit des Liebesverhältnisses kommt in der Poesie keine zweite auch nur entfernt gleich; obwohl in der Wirklichkeit fast jede andere für das Leben der Menschen entscheidender ist als sie. Auch der Gegenpol der Liebe, der Hass, fehlt keiner Epoche, mag er nur in urwüchsigen Kriegsliedern auftauchen, oder in heissen Gemeindegesängen, oder in moderner Agitationsdichtung. Dagegen fehlt die Beziehung zwischen Fürst und Diener langen Perioden der Dichtung fast ganz—als selbständiges poetisches Motiv nämlich. Die einfache ruhige Unterordnung erscheint manchen Epochen so selbstverständlich, dass sie dieser Beziehung einen dichterischen Reiz nicht abzugewinnen wussten: der Herr befiehlt, der Diener thut's—was ist da weiter zu sagen?

Ein Gegensatz zwischen dem Vorgesetzten und dem Untergebenen muss sich aufthun, um in diesem Verhältniss die Span-

nung aufzuwecken, die literarisch fruchtbar wird. Zeiten in denen das Verhältniss lebhaft empfunden und lebhaft als drückend empfunden wird, sind vor allem Blütezeiten dieses Themas.

Je schärfer nun diese Spannung gefühlt wird, desto unbedingt fordert sie energischen Ausdruck. Sie schafft sich grosse Typen, die nicht mehr einfach den Herrscher und den Unterthan ausdrücken, sondern in dem Herrscher zugleich das Prinzip der Ueberordnung, in dem Unterthan das der Auflehnung verkörpern. Die Standesrepräsentanten werden gleichzeitig Vertreter eines ewigen, aber oft latenten Gegensatzes: die herkömmliche legitime Herrschergewalt, das sich aufbauende revolutionäre Freiheitsbedürfniss; hie historisches, hie natürliches Recht.

Und ist die Spannung so weit gediehen, so verlangt sie prägnanten Ausdruck auch in der Situation. Die beiden Typen müssen sich Aug in Auge gegenüberstehen, sie allein, sie aber auch in freier Aussprache. Als etwas Neues, Unerwartetes muss der Vertreter der neuen Anschauungen dem der ererbten Vorrechte gegenübertreten. So entsteht mit innerer Notwendigkeit jenes dankbare und fruchtbare Motiv, das wir "Die Audienz beim Fürsten" nennen, und dessen Eigenart wir mit hinreichender Deutlichkeit umschreiben zu haben glauben.—

Goethe nennt einmal die Bibel und die Antike die beiden grossen "Erbschaften" die die moderne Menschheit angetreten hat; und so denn auch insbesondere die neuere Dichtung. Und unser Motiv fehlt den beiden grossen Erblasserinnen nicht; doch tritt es in charakteristisch verschiedener Form auf.

Der *Bibel* wie dem Orient überhaupt ist das Verhältniss zwischen Herr und Diener so selbstverständlich, dass die Situation nirgends poetisch fruchtbar wird. Wie oft sehen wir den Unterthanen vor dem Herrscher und in der gefährlichsten Lage; es mag an Posa vor Philipp erinnern, wenn der Prophet Nathan dem König David ins Gewissen redet (Sam. 12), an Nathan vor Saladin, wenn Elia dem Ahab den wahren Gott verkündet (1 Kön. 18). Aber weder hier noch da treffen wir eine Spur jener social-psychologischen Vertiefung, die uns in dem Motiv zu liegen scheint. Freilich sind die Propheten kaum Unterthanen: als Gottes Boten kommen sie, und so treten sie fast als die Höheren

den Fürsten der Welt gegenüber. Aber wenn Joseph vor dem Pharaon, Daniel vor Nebukadnezar gefährliche Träume deuten wollen—sie fühlen, dass sie in die Hand des Mächtigeren gegeben sind als selbstverständlich; nichts spricht in ihnen von jener Empörung, die den Diener dem Herrn furchtbar macht. Ein natürliches Verhältniss ist es, natürlich auch, wo es scheinbar erschüttert wird. Denn wie das Kind gelegentlich den unwiderstehlichen Reiz des Ungehorsams empfindet, den Stachel fühlt, der es bis zum Aeussersten trotzen lässt, obwohl es sich dabei seiner Unterordnung wohl bewusst bleibt, so reizt auch im Orient den Diener plötzlich ein verwegener Schritt zu herausforderndem Ungehorsam, zu tollkühnem Hohn. Unter der Ueberschrift "Gegenwirkung" hat der Dichter des West-Oestlichen Divan das in den "Noten und Abhandlungen" herrlich erläutert:

Wie grenzenlos hartnäckig und widersetzlich Günstlinge sich gegen den Kaiser betrogen, wird uns von glaubwürdigen Geschichtsschreibern anekdotenweise überliefert. Der Monarch ist wie das Schicksal unerbittlich, aber man trotzt ihm.

Wo Orient und Hellenenthum sich berühren, fand dies merkwürdige psychologische Phänomen seine klassische Ausgestaltung in der Erzählung von Alexander dem Grossen und seinem Günstling Clitus. Aber selbst von dergleichen finden wir in der Bibel keine Spur. Das Buch Esther ist Späteren zu einer Fundgrube psychologischer Motive geworden, die sie aus dem Gegenüber von Fürst und Diener oder Dienerin schöpften; aber in seiner ursprünglichen Form verliert es kein Wort über die Wirkung der Schicksalswandlungen Esthers und Hamans. Nichts von all dem, was *Grillparzers* psychologischer Tiefsinn in die Fabel legte, steht bei dem alten Erzähler, der einfach seine Legende vorträgt von den wunderbaren Wegen, die Gottes Weisheit zur Errettung seines Volkes wählte. Esther wird durch ihre Gunst beim König sein Werkzeug, wie Joseph oder Esra; auf die Handlung kommt es an, und jene Situation ist eine beliebige Station auf dem Wege.

An anderer Stelle müssen wir suchen, wenn wir in der Bibel unser Motiv finden wollen: den Diener allein dem Herrn gegenüber, ihm seine geheime Empörung in kühner Rede offenbarend. Ein höherer Fürst ist es, dem sie entgegengeschleudert wird.

Adam hat gesündigt und Gott wandelt im Garten und ruft ihn an; und trotzig-verzagte antwortet der erste Mensch: "Das Weib, das du mir zugestellt hast, gab mir von dem Baum und ich ass." Dem Herrn schiebt er die Schuld zu. Und wieder: Kain hat Abel getödtet, und Gott befragt ihn; und wieder hören wir eine trotzig-verzagte Antwort: "Soll ich meines Bruders Hüter sein?" Der erste Mensch und sein Sohn der erste Mörder — eine neue Generation der Geschöpfe wächst mit ihnen auf, nicht voll demüthiger Unterwerfung wie die Engel und die Thiere des Paradieses, nein mit dem Keim der Empörung im Herzen. Und diese Stimmung verkörpern jene kurzen packenden Zwiegespräche des Schöpfers mit seinem Geschöpf: zum ersten Mal wird hier die Spannung sichtbar, die Herrn und Diener trennt, wird sie sichtbar im erregten Moment, da beide sich allein gegenüberstehen, Rechenschaft heischend der eine von dem andern. Und es liegt in jenen fragmentarischen Dialogen, dem ersten zumal, im Keim schon das Zwiegespräch Satans mit Gott im Buch Hiob, die Audienz eines zwischen Trotz und Unterwürfigkeit schwankenden Vasallen vor seinem Lehnsherrn, die *Goethe* im Vorspiel seines "Faust," die dämonische Psychologie tiefer ausschöpfend, erneut hat.

Im hellenischen Alterthum dagegen tritt das Motiv rein und häufig auf; wie ja darin nicht zum wenigsten die Grösse der griechischen Kunst besteht, dass sie rein und klar zu Tage liegend zeigt, was anderwärts mit Schlacken und unreinem Metall vermischt ist. Mannig fache Variationen bietet es dar: der weise Solon, der dem übermütigen Krösus die Vergänglichkeit seiner Pracht vorhersagt; Polyxenes, der lieber in den furchtbaren Steinbrüchen zum zweiten Mal schmachten als des Dionys schlechte Verse loben will (Boileau zog sich geschickter aus der Affaire als ihm Ludwig XIV. ein Gedicht vorlegte: Ew. Majestät, sagte er, ist nichts unmöglich — Sie wollten schlechte Verse machen, und es ist Ihnen trefflich gelungen.) Und noch deutlicher, zu deutlich sogar wird der Gegensatz zweier Weltanschauungen in der berühmten Audienz dargestellt, die eigentlich Diogenes in seiner Tonne dem Weltherrscher Alexander erteilt: "Geh mir aus der Sonne." Ueberall ist die Tendenz die gleiche: der freie Geist

des einfachen Mannes beschämt den Prunk des Fürsten. Aber ein wichtiger Punkt fehlt in diesen Beispielen: es sind, wenigstens bei Solon und Diogenes fremde Herrscher, denen die Wahrheit gesagt wird; wie denn auch geschichtlich Aehnliches sich wiederholt hat, als Platon bei dem halbbarbarischen Makedonierfürsten weilte, um Staatsweisheit zu verkünden. Noch unmittelbarer aber bringen hohe Tragödien das Motiv zum Ausdruck. Antigone rechtfertigt in einer grossartigen Redescene ihren persönlich begründeten Ungehorsam vor ihrem Herrscher Kreon, und sie stirbt als Opfer ihrer Auflehnung. Und an jene biblischen Empörungsdialoge gemahnt die hohe Macht des Prometheus, dieses "Lucifer" im eigentlichen Wortsinn, der stolz und stark wie Miltons Satan sein Recht vor dem Selbstherrscher vertritt—so gewaltig, dass noch *Goethe* den ergreifenden Ausdruck neueren Titanenthums an diesem Feuer entzünden konnte.

Aber dann geht jene Freiheit des Geistes, die bei den Hellenen die erste Blütezeit unseres Gegenstandes gezeitigt hatte, in Barbarei und Sklaverei unter und langsam taucht die ganze Welt aufs Neue in die Demut des Morgenlandes: Byzantinismus nennen wir noch heute diese willige Sklaverei nach der Stadt, die den Occident von neuem dem Orient unterwarf. Der Unterthan, der dem Fürsten die Wahrheit sagt, ist wieder nur als höflicher Günstling denkbar. So erscheint schon Kineas an der Seite des Pyrrhus fast wie eine Parodie des Solon neben Krösus; und bald sinkt der Unterthan, der so viel wagt, zum Hofnarren herab und begegnet so in zahllosen Metamorphosen: Morolf im mittelalterlichen Volksbuch, der Salomons Weisheit mit grobem Mutterwitz zu Schanden macht; Neidhart von Reuenthal, der höfische Sänger, der der Herzogin und ihrer sentimental Feinheit böse Streiche spielen darf; Maître François Villon, den Rabelais dem wilden König Heinrich VIII. von England so grobe Hohnreden ins Gesicht werfen lässt; Taubmann, der gelehrte Professor, der für ein paar Gulden am Hof des sächsischen Kurfürsten den modernisirten Neidhart spielt.

Oder es wird eine andere Form gewählt, damit der bedrückte Unterthan sein Herz vor dem mächtigen Fürsten erleichtern kann: dieser wird seines Glanzes entkleidet und schleicht incognito um-

her, um die Wahrheit zu hören, ein Harun Al Raschid, wie der Landgraf von Thüringen in Ruhla, als der Schmied auf den Amboss schlug: "Landgraf, werde hart!" oder wie in mancher Sage der verjagte entthronte Fürst, der bittere Wahrheit zu kosten bekommt.

In allen diesen Fällen aber können wir von einer "Audienz" kaum sprechen: es fehlt die prägnante Gegenüberstellung des in Macht und Glanz gekleideten Herrschers und seines in bewusster Verteidigung anderer Rechte redenden Unterthanen. Da die Spannung fehlt, mangelt die Entladung. Der Abstand der Stände ist wieder zu gross geworden; zu unmittelbar wird er als gottgewollt, als unabänderlich empfunden. Und als wieder ein Mann auftritt, der stark und tapfer vor Kaiser und Reich sein eigenes Recht verteidigt, Martin Luther, da thut er es im Sinne jener alttestamentlichen Propheten: nicht als Karls V. Unterthan fühlt er sich in Worms, sondern als Diener Gottes.

Und so dauert durch lange Zeit die alte Art fort. In der gesteigerten idealistischen Poesie wird die Tradition der biblischen Propheten oder der hellenischen Weisen fortgeführt: so stehen die Helden der Tragödien Corneilles und Voltaires vor ihren Königen. Gelegentlich nur begegnet der Versuch, die Situation dadurch umzugestalten, dass gegen alle literarische Ueberlieferung die höhere Weisheit und das bessere Recht auf Seiten des Fürsten ist: so in Corneilles berühmtem "*Soyons amis, Cinna!*" das Augustus dem Empörer zuruft. Und in der schlichteren Dichtung ahmt man die Lebensgewohnheiten nach: wie selbst der finstere Philipp II. von Spanien seine Hofnarren hat, so fehlen sie auch nicht bei Calderon und Lope, und König Lear hat den seinen gerade wie der ernste Oliver Cromwell. Und hier kommen Annäherungen an die vollere Gestalt des Motivs vor, wie in dem grandiosen "Richter von Zalamea," wo aber doch der König nicht als Partei auftritt, sondern als Gerichtsherr über den Parteien.

Mit dem unerschütterlichen Respect vor dem Machthaber ist auch die bildende Kunst erfüllt, die den dankbaren Contrast von Pracht und Schlichtheit jetzt gern darzustellen übernimmt und ihn auch psychologisch vertieft. Ich erinnere nur an das be-

rahmte typische Gemälde *Coytels* im Louvre, wo Esther im Anblick der Pracht des Ahasverus in Ohnmacht fällt. Welch ein Weg von hier bis zu *Burne-Jones'* König Kophetua, wo umgekehrt der Fürst vor der Schönheit der ärmlich gekleideten Bettlerin in bewegungslos andächtige Bewunderung versinkt!

Aber allmählich ändert sich die Sachlage. Von England fliegt ein neuer Geist über Frankreich nach Deutschland. Lang ehe die Revolution die Formel prägt, ward "Freiheit, Gleichheit, Brüderlichkeit" das Losungswort der Aufklärer. Lange ehe Schiller "Mannesstolz vor Fürstenthronen" forderte, verhandelte *Voltaire* mit Friedrich II. und gar *Diderot* mit Katharina von Russland fast wie ein Gleicher mit Gleichem. Freilich, für den deutschen Dichter war die Zeit noch nicht gekommen, da (wieder nach Schillers Wort) der Dichter mit dem König gehen sollte. Wandelte die philosophische Königin Sophie Charlotte mit dem höfisch gewandten Leibniz in nachdenklicher Disputation im Schlossgarten, so bekamen *Gottsched* und *Gellert* von ihrem Enkel, dem grossen Friedrich, noch den ganzen Abstand zwischen dem Fürsten und dem armen "Weltweisen" zu kosten. Der Freund *Voltaires* sprach freundlich mit den beiden gefeierten Universitätslehrern, den Führern der damaligen deutschen Literatur, aber doch recht sehr von oben herab. Tiefe Wahrheiten ihm zu verkünden hätte solch ein Sohn des 18. Jahrhunderts nie wagen dürfen; war es doch schon viel gewagt, dass ein dritter gefeierter Schriftsteller, *Rabener*, aus patriotischen Gründen sich vor dem König zu erscheinen weigerte.

Und dennoch waren diese ersten beiden berühmten Dichteraudienzen die Vorläufer zu den nicht minder charakteristischen Begegnungen *Goethes* mit Napoleon und *Herweghs* mit Friedrich Wilhelm IV. Nicht mit Unrecht hat in der Zeit, in der die Literaturkomödien im Schwang waren, der Dichter der "Karlsschüler," *Heinrich Laube*, auch ein Schauspiel "Gottsched und Gellert" verfasst, in dem freilich die beiden Dichter (wenn man denn Gottsched so nennen will; und nach der neuesten Offenbarung musste er ja mit mehr Recht als Goethe so heissen!) nur vor dem Prinzen Heinrich von Preussen erscheinen. Eine Audienz vor dem Fürsten ist doch auch dies, und auch hier vertreten die beiden Unter-

thanen vor dem fremden Machthaber das höhere Recht. Das that auch *Gellert*, als er vor dem Verfasser der Schrift "de la littérature allemande" für die deutsche Dichtkunst eintrat; aber wie zaghaft that er es, wie zweifelte noch der einfache Bürger, ob er vor einem Regenten überhaupt ein Recht habe. Der König, der ihn berief, dachte höher von seinen Aussprüchen, als er es selber wagte.

Aber schliesslich erreicht jene Welle gesteigerten Selbstbewusstseins auch die deutschen Dichter. Wenn *Claudius* in populärer Frömmigkeit und gefälliger Kunst sie vorzuführen, Gellerts Nachfolger war, so liess er doch seinen Weltweisen vor einem Herrscher viel männlicher sprechen: aber allerdings war es eine fingirte Audienz in der Asmus vor dem—Kaiser von Japan so recht frei von der Leber weg sprach. Aber schon war der Mann da, der dem Motiv für die deutsche Dichtung wenigstens dauernde Gestalt und Geltung gewinnen sollte.

Wenn *Lessing* seinen Nathan vor Saladin stehen lässt, so liegt die Situation von der des guten Asmus scheinbar gar nicht so weit ab. Auch hier orientalische Umgebung, auch hier allgemeine Wahrheiten, auch hier kein furchtbarer Gewaltherrscher, sondern ein milder humaner, für Humor empfänglicher Regent. Dennoch liegt eine Welt zwischen beiden. Bei dem Wandsbecker Boten haben wir ein gemüthliches Spiel des Witzes, eine Maskerade ungefährlicher Wahrheiten; bei Lessings Figur die leidenschaftliche Aussprache innerster Ueberzeugung, in leichter Verhüllung die gefährliche Verkündigung der Meinungen, für die der Dichter des "Nathan" kämpfte und litt—und starb.

Es ist bekannt, dass jene Situation den Kern bildet, aus dem Lessings Meisterdrama erwuchs. Und das brauchen wir hier nicht auszuführen, wie der Dichter altes Gut erneuerte. Schon *Boccaccio* hatte von der Audienz erzählt, in der ein kluger Jude durch eine gewandte Erzählung sich aus der Verlegenheit zog; aber sein Geschichtchen hat nichts von dem Geist, den die Anekdoten von hellenischen Weisen vor Barbarenfürsten athmen. Diesen dagegen steht Lessings Behandlung nahe; wie Solon vor Krösus, wie Diogenes vor Alexander steht ein weiser Mann vor einem edlen Herrscher und beschämt den Frager, der ihn zu be-

schämen gedachte. Ja, es ist von dieser Analogie mehr als gut in der Situation: wie Saladin den Nathan in die Falle lockt, das sieht einem Barbaren ähnlicher als dem milden Fürsten der Aufklärungszeit, dessen Typus sonst Sultan Saladin vertritt.

Dann aber in der grossen Scene selbst erreicht das literarische Motiv seine höchste Höhe. Frei und gross stehen sich der Fürst und der Weise gegenüber, schwungvoll entwickelt der Unterthan die Weisheit einer neuen Zeit und in freudiger Zustimmung bekennt der Herrscher sich überwunden. Der Conflict, der einen Augenblick mit tragischem Ausgang droht, geht in einer Versöhnung auf, die beide Parteien über sich selbst hebt; und wenn Nathan hier zugleich etwas von den Propheten des Alten Bundes und den Weisen von Hellas hat, so vereinigt Saladin mit der Gesetzesstrenge des Koran etwas von göttlicher Milde.

Kein Wunder, dass diese herrliche Scene "Schule macht;" die künstlerisch vollendetste und die moralisch erbauendste blieb sie dennoch unter allen Behandlungen des Motivs. Es fehlte ja in jener Zeit, zumal im lebhaften Roman und vorher nicht an Versuchen, dem Verlangen der neuen Zeit durch den Mund solcher Redner vor Königsthronen Ausdruck zu geben. In *Hallers* philosophischen Romanen fehlt der "redliche Mann am Hofe," der auch seinem Fürsten die Wahrheit sagt, so wenig wie bei manchem Populärphilosophen; und 1773, sechs Jahre vor dem "Nathan," hatte *Wieland* im "Agathon" (um W. Bölsches Ausdruck zu gebrauchen) "den Philosophen zum Regenten treten lassen, um ihn zum Menschenfreund zu machen"—was ja auch Nathan und Posa wollen. Aber überall war der Weise am Thron nur das Sprachrohr eines wohlwollenden Pädagogen, der bestimmte Ideen durch seinen Deputirten der Hoheit übermittelt; erst bei *Lessing* sprach eine lebensvolle Gestalt die innerste Ueberzeugung einer Generation aus—und mass sie an der älterer machthabender Generationen.

Bei *Goethe*, der die Situation oft hat, steht sie nie in so hellem Licht. Er war von unsern Dichtern der einzige, dem Umgang und Gespräch mit den Grossen der Erde eine alltägliche Erfahrung war—ohne freilich je für ihn an Reiz zu verlieren. Audienz ertheilte Kaiser Max im "Götz," Iphigenie berichtet

dem Thoas ihre Vergangenheit, vor Alfons von Ferrara tragen Tasso und Antonio ihre Angelegenheiten vor, und Faust steht am Kaiserhof; nirgends aber handelt es sich hierum den typischen Gegensatz von Herr und Diener. Viel näher steht dem eine andere Situation: Egmont vor Alba. Wohl sehen wir hier einen vornehmeren Herrn vor einem andern, der nur Bevollmächtigter eines Herrschers ist; aber doch kommt es gerade hier zur Aussprache der typischen Gegensätze. Die Legitimität, das Recht der Macht, die Gewalt des Befehls vertritt Alba; Egmont wird zum Sachwalter der Sehnsucht nach Freiheit, Unabhängigkeit, Selbstbestimmung. Auch das teilt die grosse Scene mit manchen ihrer Verwandten, dass die Freude an grossen Antithesen über das dramaturgische Interesse des Augenblicks weit herauswächst. Dennoch gehört sie zu den Nebenformen und liegt nicht auf dem grossen Wege der Entwicklung unseres Motivs.

Auf diesem ist die nächste Stufe die neben der Scene Nathans berühmteste Einzelszene der deutschen Bühne: Posa vor König Philipp. *Schiller*, dessen zu Abstractionen geneigter Sinn Antithesen solcher Art überhaupt liebte (ich habe dahingehörende Verse schon citirt: "Es soll der Dichter mit dem König gehen," "Männerstolz vor Königsthronen!") hat fast in jedem Drama eine Scene, die sich irgendwie als eine Variante des Audienzmotivs darstellt. Wie Fiesco mit Andrea Doria spricht, der Musiker Miller mit dem Präsidenten und (revolutionärer noch) der Kammerdiener mit Lady Milford—da sehen wir überall den Unterthan vor dem Machthaber sein Recht geltend machen und zugleich im Namen vieler das Herkömmliche erschüttern. Mit rhetorischem Glanz umgeben sich spätere Audienzscenen: die Jungfrau von Orleans vor König Karl, die Chorführer vor der Fürstin von Messina, und vor allem Maria Stuart vor Elisabeth, Tell vor Gessler. Die äusseren Beziehungen wechseln: einmal spricht eine gefangene Königin vor einer andern Herrscherin, das andere Mal ein einfacher Bauer vor einem Tyrann der wie Alba im "Egmont" nur Bevollmächtigter eines Fürsten ist. Noch mehr wechseln die inneren Beziehungen: Jeanne d'Arc die Retterin, Maria Stuart die Verschwörerin. Aber überall wird ein

Naturrecht vor dem Gesetzesrecht geltend gemacht: das Recht der göttlichen Inspiration, des einfach gehorsamen Lebens, das Recht der Nothwehr gegen die Macht; und überall erscheint dies Recht als das höhere und siegreiche, nicht am wenigsten da, wo es einmal (in der "Jungfrau") die Legitimität nicht angreift, sondern stützt. Endlich gipfelt Schillers letztes fragmentarische Werk in einer berühmten Scene dieses Typus: Demetrius vor dem Reichstag, dem Collectiv-Fürsten von Polen, wobei freilich nicht gegen diesen, sondern gegen den abwesenden Inhaber der Macht in Russland für das angeborene Recht des Prätendenten plädiert wird. Und damit fällt diese Scene aus der Reihe heraus, dass wirklich nur um die persönlichen Ansprüche eines Einzelnen gekämpft wird und Demetrius nicht als Repräsentant ganzer Classen dasteht, wie der Kammerdiener und der Musikus, wie Wilhelm Tell, ja wie auch Jeanne d'Arc und Maria Stuart, das heroische Landmädchen und die resignirte Königin, wirksame Gegenbilder von tragischem Begehren und tragischem Verzichten.

Durchaus spricht dagegen der Marquis von Posa als Vertreter Ungezählter, als Repräsentant auch derer, die da kommen werden. Niemals hat man verkannt, niemals konnte man verkennen, dass er der Anwalt einer ganzen fordernden, neue Rechte verfechtenden Generation ist; den Vorläufer der grossen girondistischen Conventsredner hat man ihn genannt. Gerade das politische Interesse, das in dieser Figur sich verkörpert, hat den "Don Carlos" von einem Familiengemälde in ein historisches Drama und dann in ein politisches gewandelt.¹ Er war zunächst einfach der Vertraute des Prinzen, wie etwa Aspermonte in *Leise-witz* von Schiller stark benutztem "Julius von Tarent;"² er wird zum Vorkämpfer der politischen Ideale der Zeit.³ Möglich, dass direktere Vorbilder benutzt sind, Fürsprecher des politischen Umschwunges in zeitgenössischen Schriften; sicher aber ist, dass Schiller seine eigenen Ueberzeugungen zum Ausdruck brachte — und dabei literarischen Mustern folgte.

Nur zufällig zwar, und keineswegs tiefreichend, sind die Aehnlichkeiten mit der fast genau gleichzeitig entstandenen Egmont-Scene, die wir besprochen und auf die in diesem Zusammenhang

¹ Vgl. MINOR, Schiller, 2, 542.

² Ibid., S. 560.

³ Ibid., S. 563.

*J. Minor*¹ hinweist. Unzweifelhaft aber ist die dort entdeckte Abhängigkeit der Scene von der des Nathan:

Diese Situation erinnert zunächst deutlich an Lessings Nathan, in welchem der Weise gleichfalls vor den Thron citirt und um Rat gefragt wird. Saladin und Don Philipp sind beide hilfsbedürftig; der eine bedarf des Geldes, der andere der "Wahrheit." Beide erhalten von dem Weisen mehr als sie verlangt haben. Um die Gleichberechtigung der Religionen handelt es sich dort, um die Gedankenfreiheit hier. Die Monologe, in welchen sich die beiden Weisen in den Vorzimmern ihrer Gebieter ihre Aufgabe vorbereiten, stimmen genau überein. Und nicht bloss manche Wendung des Dialoges verdankt der Dichter des Don Carlos dem des Nathan, sondern auch das Resultat der Scene ist dasselbe: trotz ihrem Freimut scheiden die beiden Weisen als Freunde von ihrem Fürsten. Wir müssen Freunde sein, ruft Saladin; der Ritter wird künftig ungemeldet vorgelassen, befiehlt Philipp.

Bei Lessing war diese Scene der Kern, um welchen sich das ganze Stück krystallisirte; bei Schiller wurde sie nachträglich in den Mittelpunkt eines im Gedanken fertigen Stückes eingeschoben. Organisch ist sie weder hier noch dort, dramatisch gleichfalls nicht; aber rhetorische und oratorische Kunststücke sind beide Auftritte. Die Bühne wird in dem einen Fall zur Kanzel, das Theater in dem andern zum Parlament. Lessings Entfernung vom Theater und die Beschäftigung mit der Theologie hat den Nathan gezeitigt; durch Schillers Entfernung von dem Theater können wir es allein erklären, dass er nun die Handlung stehen liess und sie dem Enthusiasmus für die erhabensten Gedanken des aufgeklärten Jahrhunderts opferte.

Nicht in jedem Punkt zwar könnte ich diese Worte Minors unterstreichen. Organisch und dramatisch scheint mir die Scene im "Nathan" durchaus—wie sollte die Keimzelle des ganzen dramatischen Organismus nicht beides sein? Aber anders steht es allerdings mit ihrer Nachbildung im Don Carlos.

Den Vorwurf, dass Schiller durch sein individuelles Interesse an dieser grossen Aussprache die Entwicklung des Dramas hemmt, hat auch *Bellermann* ("Schillers Dramen," I, 253) vergeblich abzuwähren gesucht. Und das bleibt bestehen, dass sie gewaltsam herbeigeführt wird—wie die im "Nathan" und wie so viele dramatische Hauptscenen, denen das Interesse des Dichters zu ungeduldig andrängt. Dass Philipp sich nach einem Menschen sehnt, ist psychologisch begreiflich, auch wenn (was *Hoffmeister*

¹ *Loc. cit.* S. 596.

dagegen angeführt hat) Lerma oder sonst ein redlicher Mann am Hofe lebt; die Diogenesfrage sucht ja einen wahren Menschen, eine königliche Seele, die dem König Freund sein kann—wie sollte die an Philipps Hof gedeihen! Aber wie er dann den Posa findet—das bleibt ein wunderbares Spiel des Zufalls; oder, realistischer ausgedrückt, die nicht genügend motivirte Aufnahme einer älteren Behandlung unseres Motivs.

König Philipp in schlafloser Nacht schreitet im Zimmer auf und ab (wie er die eingeschlummerten Pagen schont, erinnert sowohl an einen Auftritt in Shakespeares "Julius Caesar" als auch an eine bekannte, von dem Populärphilosophen *J. J. Engel* dramatisirte Anekdote von Friedrich dem Grossen). Nach Gesprächen, die seine Aufregung nur vermehrten, weil der treue Diener Lerma, der intriguirende Hofpfaff Domingo, der ehrgeizige General Alba seine Sehnsucht nach einem Menschen nicht befriedigen, greift er zu einer Schreibtafel mit den Aufzeichnungen über verdiente Männer. (Ein Gegenstück dazu finden wir in der überhaupt ein Pendant bildenden zweiten grossen Audienzscene des "Don Carlos," der des Grossinquisitors: Posas Leben "liegt angefangen und beschlossen in der Santa Casa heiligen Registern." Und diese Scene geht auf eine historische Anekdote zurück: Philipp II. soll sich vor einem Boten des Heiligen Offiz demütig-stolz wegen einer vom Grossinquisitor erhobenen Anklage gereinigt haben—man warf ihm vor, einen Schuldigen der Inquisition entzogen zu haben.)

Und wir lesen im Buch Esther (Kap. 6):

In derselben Nacht konnte der König nicht schlafen, und liess die Chronik mit den Historien bringen. Die wurden vor dem König gelesen.

Philipp findet den vergessenen Namen des Marquis von Posa. Und von Posa berichtet zuletzt der Herzog von Feria:

Und dieser Marquis von Posa war es auch,
Der nachher die berühmte Verschwörung
In Katalonien entdeckt, und bloss
Durch seine Fertigkeit allein der Krone
Die wichtigste Provinz erhielt.

Das nahm Schiller aus seiner Quelle; aber eben deren Bericht machte ihn auf das Buch Esther führen, wo es weiter heisst:

Da fand sichs angestrichen, wie Mardochai hatte angesagt, dass die zween Kämmerer des Königs, Bigthan und Theres, die an der Schwelle hüteten, getrachtet hätten, die Hand an den König Ahasverus zu legen. Und der König sprach: Was haben wir Mardochai Ehre und Gutes dafür gethan?

Die Uebereinstimmung könnte wohl nicht leicht schlagender sein. Schiller kehrt zu jener alten Behandlung des Gegenstandes zurück, die inzwischen durch die Malerei und durch *Racine* grössere Bedeutung erhalten hatte, und vereinigt sie mit der klassischen *Lessings*. Neu fügt er aber den feurigen Geist der Zeitforderungen hinzu, indem er in noch weiterem und allgemeinerem Sinn als der Dichter des "Nathan" den Unterthanen grosse Gesinnungen der ganzen Jugend und der—nächsten Geschlechter dem Herrscher vortragen lässt. Der Idealismus unserer klassischen Dichtung fand niemals unmittelbarer, kaum je wirksamer Ausdruck als in dieser hinreissenden Scene, deren Schwung über alle psychologischen und historischen Unmöglichkeiten, über alle Reminiscenzen und dramaturgischen Schwächen hinweg trägt wie auf Adlersflügeln.

Kein Wunder, dass die Scene bei den Nachahmern Schillers unzählige Mal neu aufgelegt wurde; ich nenne als ein Beispiel nur den trefflichen *J. G. Fischer* mit seinem "Florian Geyer."¹

Einen andern Weg freilich schlagen zwei charakteristische Darstellungen der Epigonenzeit, der grossen und fruchtbaren Epigonenzeit an. Wir gehen an *Kleist* and *Immermann*, an *Heines* Disputation vor König und Königin und *Richard Wagners* Sängerkampf vor Landgraf und Landgräfin vorbei wie an zahlreichen andern Nebenformen des Motivs. Ganz rein treffen wir es aber bei zwei möglichst verschiedenen Geistern—bei *Grillparzer* und *Grabbe*.

In *Grillparzers* "Libussa" steht Primislaus vor der weisen Königin ausserlich in einer Situation, die an die Nathans erinnert—Ratselfragen gilt es zu lösen, von deren Beantwortung seine ganze Zukunft abhängt. Von der barbarischen Art, den klugen und reichen Unterthan zu bedrängen, die *Boccaccios* Schwank zeigte, lassen sich noch leise Spuren erkennen; die absichtliche Entwicklung von Pracht und Prunk erinnert an die

¹ *Biographisches Jahrbuch*, herg. v. BETTELHEIM, 2, 135.

Esther-Darstellungen, denen der Dichter ja selbst eine neue beifügte. Aber während in seiner "Esther" das charakteristische Moment fehlt: die Spannung des Unterthanenverhältnisses, bildet in der Libussa gerade dies den Angelpunkt. Der kluge Unterthan soll seinen Unabhängigkeitsdrang, die weise Fürstin ihr Herrschbedürfniss bezwingen; in heissem Rede- und Liebeskampf ringen sie, bis auch hier (wie im "Nathan") eine Versöhnung das Recht der Herrin und des Dieners, der Fürstin und des Gatten, der inspirirten Weisheit und des menschlich-erfahrungsmässigen Weltverstandes ausgleicht. Dabei ist eins auffällig: während sonst überall der Fürst nur mit wenigen Worten, der Unterthan mit mächtiger Rede am Dialog Anteil nimmt, sind hier die Partien fast gleich verteilt. Und wer ist denn auch am Ende hier der Herrscher, wer der Unterthan?—ist es schliesslich doch Primislaus, der auch über Libussa regirt und dessen Willen und Energie die der weiseren Frau beugen.

Eine Caricatur gab nach seiner Art *Grabbe*, als er in dem Fragment "Hannibal" den grossen Feldherrn Karthagos dem lächerlichen König Prusias gegenüberstellte. Es ist eine Audienz im formellsten Sinne des Wortes, mit Hofmarschall, Anmeldung, Thronsetzung; und die Rechte des flüchtigen machtlosen Genies bleiben ohnmächtig gegenüber der Legitimität einer in der Macht sitzenden Impotenz. Eine blutige Satire ist es, in der der Zufallsherrscher durch die Erscheinung des fremden Flüchtlings ärger blossgestellt wird als Philipp durch Posas Beredsamkeit; ohnmächtige Wuth über die herrschende Verächtlichkeit paart sich mit der fast widerwilligen Bewunderung des Heros, der das Recht der Natur, die Genialitätsforderung der Zeit, die patriotische Verzweiflung der Generation vertritt.

Es ist wieder ein politischer Geist, der die Scene durchdringt, wie die des Posa und des Tell; aber an die Stelle des Reformgeistes ist der der Revolution getreten. Der spanische Edelmann erhofft Gedankenfreiheit und Neuerschaffung der Erde von einem Federstrich des Monarchen—in Preussen, in Oesterreich, in Danemark und Portugal hatte das Zeitalter der Aufklärung ja Aehnliches erlebt. Der karthagische General hofft nichts mehr von dem Fürsten—die grosse Revolution und, schlimmer noch

für Deutschland, die Reaktion hatte die Erwartungen eines Schiller in den Pessimismus eines Grabbe verkehrt.

Unmittelbar stellt sich eine andere poetische Behandlung des Motivs in die Nachfolge der Posa-Szene. K. Gutzkow hatte in "Zopf und Schwert" und dem "Urbild des Tartuffe" sich nahe an die typische Form heranbegeben, ohne doch gerade jenen springenden Punkt, die Spannung des Verhältnisses zwischen dem herrschgewohnten Regenten und dem freiheitsbedürftigen Unterthan, in die Mitte zu stellen. Das aber that am Vorabend der Revolution Heinrich Laube in seinen "Karlschülern." Den Dichter des "Don Carlos" selbst, freilich erst in der Epoche der "Räuber," nahm er zum Helden und liess ihn in einer wirksamen Scene das Wort führen für die Freiheit des Genies, für die des Wortes, für die von Posa geforderte Gedankenfreiheit. Und in dieser ewigen Streitfrage zwischen Dichter und Fürsten, zwischen der "schöpferischen und erhaltenden Macht," wie er selbst sagt,¹ suchte er Licht und Schatten einigermassen unparteiisch zu verteilen; meinte er doch selbst² in dem Herzog Karl einen gesunden und tüchtigen Vertreter des damals herrschenden absoluten Geistes hingestellt und ihm vielfach Recht gegeben zu haben. Indessen bleibt der Eindruck der grossen Scene doch der, dass das natürliche Recht über die Tyrannei der Legitimen siegt. Nicht umsonst hat Laube schon vorher seinen Schiller Schubarts "Fürstengruft" vor dem Herzog recitiren lassen, in der dieser auf seine Weise die Audienz vor dem Herrscher darstellt:

Nun ist die Hand herabgefault zum Knochen,
Die oft mit kaltem Federzug
Den Weisen, der am Thron zu laut gesprochen,
In harte Fesseln schlug.

Nicht umsonst ertönt am Schluss des Dramas der Ruf: "Es lebe Friedrich Schiller," während Herzog Karl selbst sich für überwunden erklärt. Wir haben wirklich hier einen jüngeren Posa, der mit seiner eigenen Sache zugleich die der Menschheit vor einem Gewaltherrscher führt; auch hier Aug in Aug die volle Aussprache der Gegensätze, auch hier den Sieg des Geistes über

¹ Einleitung, S. xxxii.

² *Ibid.*, S. xlv.

die Macht. Und in der Aktualität der berühmten Probleme — Pressfreiheit, Theaterfreiheit — rückt die Scene fast etwas näher an die des "Nathan" heran. (Freilich hat sie nicht wenig auch unmittelbar entlehnt; so das Aparte an die wohlwollende Lauscherin hinter der Thür.) Allerdings darf man ihren künstlerischen Werth so wenig wie den philosophischen an solchen Vorbildern messen; aber als letzter, nicht unwürdiger Nachklang zeigt die Scene, wie mächtig wieder jenes Grundproblem alle Gemüther erfüllte, wie sie sich wieder erdichten mussten, was sie sich sehnten zu erleben.

Die grossen Audienzen rückten heran, die klassischen Begegnungen des "Fürsten" mit dem "Weisen." Seltsam spielte ihnen eine humoristische Begegnung vor, die aber doch nicht ohne ernste Folgen blieb. Am 16. September 1842 gab die Stadt Coblenz dem König von Preussen einen Ball, und er traf dort *Ferdinand Freiligrath*, damals noch den unpolitischen Dichter des "Löwenritts" und Inhaber einer königlichen Pension.

Friedrich Wilhelm IV. redete den Dichter an: "Ah, Herr Freiligrath, Sie sind ja ein Weinkenner. Ist Ihnen auch der Grüneberger bekannt?" (ein berüchtigt schlechter Wein aus Schlesien, in Liedern und Anekdoten verspottet). Als Freiligrath lächelnd verneinte, sagte der König: "Da gratulire ich, da gratulire ich." Und das Gespräch war beendet.¹

Das hatte nun nicht eben viel zu bedeuten; aber später erzählte der Dichter selbst von diesem Erlebniss.

Wissen Sie, wann ich Demokrat geworden bin? Das geschah an dem Tage, wo ich dem König und dem Erzherzog Johann vorgestellt ward. Als ich im einfachen schwarzen Frack ins Vorzimmer und um den Saal kam, wo ich lauter goldbetresste, besternte Herren fand, sah ich, dass jeder zu mir herüberschielte, wer ich wohl sein mochte. Diesen und jenen kannte ich; man nannte meinen Namen, aber niemand sprach mit mir, und ich drückte mich in eine Ecke. Da kam der Erzherzog die Reihe entlang auch zu mir und unterhielt sich längere Zeit mit mir. Kaum war er weg, so drängte sich jedermann von dem Geschmeiss an mich, begrüßte mich, erinnerte sich meiner. An jenem Abend und in jener Stunde ward ich Demokrat.

Da sind wir wieder im "Don Carlos": bei der Begegnung des Königs mit dem Herzog von Medina Sidonia, unmittelbar vor der Posa-Szene. Und gleich folgt auch diese in der Wirklichkeit.

¹ W. BUCHNER, *Freiligrath*, 2, 30.

Georg Herwegh stand an jenem denkwürdigen Novembertag des Jahres 1842 vor König Friedrich Wilhelm IV., in dem das Herscherbewusstsein König Philipps, Saladins Freude an weiser Rede, und ein klein wenig auch des Prusias innere Haltlosigkeit bei ausserer Feierlichkeit der Haltung sich vereinte. Auch war es damals noch der König, der mehr und besser redete.—“Ich liebe eine gesinnungsvolle Opposition.” “Ich wünsche Ihnen einen Tag von Damaskus und Sie werden Grosses wirken.” Zwar holte der Vertreter des Mannesstolzes vor Fürstenthronen diesmal noch die vergessene Geistesgegenwart ziemlich kläglich in einem ungeschickten Briefe nach; doch bald kam das Jahr 1848, in dem den Volkstribunen das Wort gehörte. Mitten in der Nacht liess König Ludwig von Bayern den seltsamen Propheten *Rohmer* in den Palast berufen, um sich von ihm politischen Rath in der Noth des Moments erteilen zu lassen. Und derselbe Friedrich Wilhelm IV., vor dem Herwegh “gespielt den Marquis Posa,” wie *Heine* sofort in seinem boshaften Zeitgedicht “Die Audienz” spottete, er hörte jetzt von dem Abgeordneten *Johann Jacoby* in einem entscheidenden Augenblick das berühmte Wort: “Das ist das Unglück der Könige, dass sie die Wahrheit nicht hören wollen.” Die Audienzen bei jenem geistreichen König waren, wie man sieht, reich an geflügelten Worten; und wenn der Geschichtsschreiber *Droysen* meinte, *Lamartines* “*Histoire des Girondins*” habe die Redner der Paulskirche mit ihrer Lust an tönenden Phrasen angesteckt, so könnte wohl Schillers “*Don Carlos*” gleichfalls die Freude am feierlichen Wort bei dem König wie bei dem Unterthan verstärkt haben.

Freilich, das war im Moment der höchsten Spannung. Später hielt wieder vor Friedrich Wilhelm IV. *Alexander von Humboldt* jene grossen Vorträge, die *W. Jordan* in seinem “*Demiurgos*” poetisch nachbildete, oder vor dem nächsten Bayernkönige *Leopold von Ranke* in Tegernsee seine bedeutungsvollen Vorlesungen über die Epochen der Geschichte; und weder der liberale Naturforscher noch der konservative Historiker, so eifrig beide auch sonst politischen Einfluss suchten, benützte diese Situation zu pathetischen Redewendungen und aktuellen Anspielungen. Und gar in den Kleinstaaten zog mit der Reaktion wieder die volle Strenge der

socialen Isolirung des Fürsten ein; und wenn *Fritz Reuter* in "Dorchläuchting" oder *John Brinkman* in "Kasper Ohm" Herzog und Unterthan mit einander reden liessen, so mussten sie etwas von der humoristischen Färbung oder auch geradezu von der Hofnarren-Manier abwenden, die einem Morolf, Neidhart, Taubmann allein noch seine gewisse Freimütigkeit vor dem Thron ermöglichte. "Kinder und Narren reden die Wahrheit," oder wie in den Tagen der Majestätsbeleidigungen *Friedrich Bodenstedt* den alten Spruch variirte:

Die Wahrheit liegt im Wein;
Das heisst: in unsern Tagen
Muss einer betrunken sein,
Um Lust zu haben die Wahrheit zu sagen.

Damals wurde der schöne Studentenvers

Wer die Wahrheit weiss, und er sagt sie nicht,
Der ist fürwahr ein erbärmlicher Wicht

parodirt:

Wer die Wahrheit weiss und er sagt sie frei,
Der kommt zu Berlin auf die Stadtvogtei —

hatte ja dort auch *Fritz Reuter* die qualvollste Zeit seiner "Festungstid" verlebt.

So rasch stieg im wirklichen Leben die Audienz des Dichters vor dem König zu pathetischer Höhe—so rasch sank sie zu tragikomischer Trivialität! Nur im Roman erlebte sie noch eine nicht allzu glückliche Nachblüte. Da ward gerade in den Jahren der Reaktion und vor allem des wieder erstarkenden Liberalismus die Audienz beim Fürsten ein fast unentbehrliches Prunkstück. In *Theodor Mügges* "Vogt von Sylt" (1851) steht der historische Volksmann Lornsen in feierlicher Rede vor dem König von Dänemark. In *Gustav Freytags* "Verlorener Handschrift" (1864) hält Frau Ilse dem Fürsten liberale Vorträge über Menschenwert und Erziehung. "In Reih und Glied" von *Spielhagen* (1866) bringt Sylvia den Demokraten Leo, dem Lassalle als Modell gedient hat, zur Aussprache vor den König. Im "Landhaus am Rhein" (1866) wirft *Auerbachs* interessante Romanfigur, der reich gewordene Sklavenhändler Lunenkamp, in der Wuth dem Fürsten, aus dessen Hand er schon das Adels-

diplom empfangen sollte, einen blutigen Vergleich seiner eigenen Rechte mit denen des Regenten ins Gesicht. Leicht liessen sich die Beispiele häufen und bis in die neueste Zeit, etwa bis zu *Bertha von Suttners* Tendenzroman "Schach der Qual," fortführen. Aber keine dieser Szenen bringt eine Fortführung des Motivs, mag auch manche—besonders die bei *Auerbach*—geistreiche neue Nuancen bringen. Es ist überall das Schema der Posa-Szene: der Anwalt der Jugend, der neuen Rechte in bedrörter Deklamation vor dem verstummenden Inhaber der alten Macht. Ueberall sind die Dichter Partei für den Fürsprech des jungen Geschlechts und der Rechte, die mit uns geboren sind; überall bleiben die Fürsten unbekehrt wie in der ganzen Geschichte des Motivs, die beiden wunderbaren Fälle des weisen Nathan und des klugen Primislaus allein ausgenommen.

Auch im Drama ist man zu einer neuen Stufe nicht gelangt. *Björnsons* "König" mit seiner wunderlichen Mischung von Romantik und Aktualität; *Sudermanns* "Johannes," der die neutestamentliche Wiederholung der Prophetenszene, Johannes vor Herodes, in kaum geringerer Stilmischung wiedergab; *Gerhart Hauptmanns*, der im "Florian Geyer" und gewissermassen auch schon in den "Webern," Schillers "Demetrius" überbietend, den Collectiv-Unterthanen vor den Collectiv-Herrscher stellte—für die Literaturgeschichte unseres Motivs haben sie nicht mehr zu bedeuten als die vielen Andern, die neben *Aischylos* und *Sophokles*, *Lessing* und *Schiller*, *Grillparzer* und *Grabbe* ihm ihre Kunst zuwandten. In diesen sechs Namen dürfte im Wesentlichen seine Evolution beschrieben sein; und stolz dürfen wir Deutsche uns rühmen, dass eine Situation, die in den ersten Kapiteln der Bibel auftaucht und für den Naturalismus der Neuesten ihren Reiz noch nicht verloren hat, in den Händen zweier grosser deutscher Dichter ihre höchste Ausgestaltung fand.

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BERLIN.

THE TERM LYNCH LAW.

THOUGH a discussion of the practice of lynch law does not come within the scope of this paper, yet a brief outline of the practice is pertinent.¹ Whether the criminal laws were adequate and their administration efficient, during our colonial period, need not be debated here. It is sufficient to point out that for more than half a century before the term lynch law is encountered, lawlessness had existed to a greater or less extent in various parts of the country. Complaints about desperadoes were heard in the back parts of the Carolinas as early as 1752,² and between 1767 and 1771 occurred the movement of the Regulators. In 1765 the Stamp Act ushered in a decade of violence, chiefly of a political character and directed against those of Tory proclivities. With the outbreak of actual war in 1775, an increase of illegal acts was inevitable. Finally, the constant pushing westward of the frontiers, with the consequent rough life found along the borders, furnished a new field of action for those who took the law into their own hands. These self-constituted ministers of justice, whose usual punishment was the application of thirty-nine lashes, were sometimes called "regulators,"³ sometimes

¹ DR. J. ELBERT CUTLER, of Yale University, is now preparing a monograph to be entitled, *Lynch Law: an Investigation into the History of Lynching in the United States*. Through the kindness of its author, I have read in manuscript four chapters of this monograph, and to it I am indebted for several extracts.

² A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws* (1767), p. 131.

³ This word occurs in 1752, was adopted by certain persons in the Carolinas in 1767-1771, reappeared in 1819, was exceedingly common for many years, but is now little used.

"We hear from *Elizabeth-Town*, that an odd Sect of People have lately appeared there, who go under the Denomination of *Regulars* [*sic*]; there are near a Dozen of them, who dress themselves in Women's Cloaths, and painting their Faces, go in the Evening to the Houses of such as are reported to have beat their Wives; where one of them entering in first, seizes the Delinquent, whilst the rest follow, strip him, turn up his Posteriors, and flog him with Rods most severely. . . . 'Twere to be wish'd, that in order for the more equal Distribution of Justice, there woud' arise another Sect, under the Title of *Regularizes*, who should dress themselves in Men's Cloaths, and agillate the Posteriors of the Scolds, Termagants, &c.'" *New Jersey Archives* (152), Vol. XIX, pp. 225, 226.

"My Case being happily nois'd abroad, induced several generous young Men to discipline him. These young Persons do stile, or are stiled, REGULATORS; and so they are with Propriety; for they have regulated my dear Husband, and the rest of the bad Ones hereabouts, that they are afraid of using such Barbarity," *New Jersey Archives* (1753), Vol. XIX, p. 226.

[illegible]

"moderators;"¹ and the expressions "club law," "gag law," and "mob law" were occasionally employed;² but it is not until 1817 that we meet with lynch law—a term which soon came to include every sort of punishment, from banishment to death, that might be illegally inflicted. Even thus early, however, such punishments were thought to be no longer necessary, and between 1820 and 1830 writers regarded the practice of lynch law as on the wane and likely soon to disappear altogether before advancing civilization. But in the next decade came the anti-slavery agitation, the practice revived and spread throughout the country, the punishments became more and more severe, negroes then first became victims, and many terms of a sinister character were added to the English language.

The purpose of this paper is to show the history of these terms, and to consider the theories which have been advanced as to their

"The means to suppress those licentious spirits that have so lately appeared in the distant parts of the Province, and, assuming the name of Regulators, have, in defiance of Government, and to the subversion of good order, illegally tried, condemned, and punished many persons, require an attentive deliberation."—Lord Charles G. Montagu, in A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 133.

"At a general meeting of the Regulators held April 4th 1768 it was agreed to send Peter Craven and John Howe," *Colonial Records of North Carolina*, Vol. VII, p. 702.

"Charlestown, (South-Carolina) Sept. 12. The people called regulators have lately severely chastised one Lum," *Boston Chronicle* (1768), No. 42, Vol. I, p. 381 2.

"These regulators are self-appointed ministers of justice, to punish or destroy those whom the law cannot touch."—W. FAUX, *Memorable Days in America* (1823), p. 313.

"On such occasions therefore, all the quiet and industrious men of a district form themselves into companies, under the name of 'Regulators.'"—W. N. BLANE, *Excursion through the United States and Canada* (1824), p. 234.

"A band of so-called 'regulators' served notice on certain peaceable and law-abiding colored citizens that they must leave the county," *Nation* (1897), Vol. LXV, p. 253/2.

¹ This word is occasionally but not often met with.

"Various accounts continue to be received from the back country. A new set of people, who call themselves Moderators, have appeared against the Regulators."—In A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 182.

"The citizens of our border country have witnessed these men under the names of and moderators, committing in the territory of Texas some of the most barbarous acts of the 19th century," *Niles' Register* (1841), Vol. LXI, p. 149-3.

"The regulators, as they are often called, soon find that their foes are prepared to prepare for systematic resistance, under the denomination of 'Regulators,'" Vol. V, p. 136 1.

"The regulators are set up, nominally to keep the regulators in check. They are nominally moderators, and invariably contain all the spare resources of the law. They have not already received into their ranks," p. 462.

"Among the ordinary modes of punishment, there are others which are not known in this country: as, Cupar law, Stafford law.

origin. The former object can best be attained by a series of brief extracts. The original expression was not lynch law but Lynch's law.

LYNCH'S LAW.

In the year 1792, there were many suits on the south side of James river, for inflicting Lynch's law.¹

The people of the place deputed four persons to inform him, that unless he quitted the town and state [Indiana] immediately, he should receive Lynch's law, that is, a whipping in the woods.²

No commentator has taken any notice of *Lynch's Law*, once the *lex loci* of the frontiers.³

"LYNCH'S LAW." We have heard, that capt. *Slick*⁴ summoned his corps the other night, and obtained possession of a man with whose misdeeds they had become familiar, carried him to the prairie near town [St. Louis], and administered "Lynch's law" upon him in fine style. He received about fifty lashes.⁵

Lynch's Law.—The colored population since the late riots [in New York], also seem determined to take the law into their own hands. Saturday the negro loafers apprehended one of their

¹ 1817, Judge Spencer Roane, in W. WIRT's *Life of P. Henry* (1818), p. 372. In his *Patrick Henry*, Vol. II (1891), p. 482, Mr. W. W. HENRY printed, no doubt through error, "Lynch law."

² 1819, November 29, W. FAUX, *Memorable Days in America* (1823), p. 304.

³ J. HALL, *Letters from the West* (1828), p. 291. Most of these letters had already been printed in the *Port Folio* between 1821 and 1825, Vols. XII-XIV, XVI-XX; but the letter about lynch law first appeared in the book.

⁴ "Capt. Slick" was again mentioned in the *Liberator* of October 3, 1835, Vol. V, p. 157/1, where we learn that "there has also been a company formed, who go by the name of 'Capt. Slick,' or 'Lynch'—these take the law into their own hands, go in disguise, and whip and hang all they think deserving." The following extract is from the *Liberator* of August 22, 1835, Vol. V, p. 138/2: "Gregory . . . was sentenced to 50 lashes, and . . . Terrell . . . received 150 lashes. . . . This is called *slicking*, and is performed in the following manner: The prisoner is stripped naked, and laid on his belly, his hands and feet fastened to four pegs, when with a coleman he receives the stripes from different hands. The younger was slicked with a vengeance—his back was literally flayed." In the *Liberator* of December 4, 1857, Vol. XXVII, p. 196/4, we read that great excitement existed in Barton County, Missouri, "on account of the doings of a set of lawless wretches called 'Slickers,' who pretended to be after a horse thief, but who 'slicked' or barbarously beat several men until their lives were despaired of." This use of the word *slick* is apparently not recognized by American lexicographers. With "Capt. Slick" may be compared "Squire Birch," mentioned by Judge J. Hall in 1828: "Squire Birch, who was personated by one of the party, established his tribunal under a tree in the woods, and the culprit was brought before him, tried, and generally convicted; he was then tied to a tree, lashed without mercy, and ordered to leave the country within a given time, under pain of a second visitation," *Letters from the West*, p. 292. In 1846 J. W. MONETTE wrote that "Chief-justice 'Birch' established his tribunal under a forest canopy," *History of the Discovery and Settlement of the Valley of the Mississippi*, Vol. II, p. 17.

⁵ *Niles' Register* (1833), Vol. XLV, p. 87/1.

fraternity at Peck slip, and placing him thwart-ways across an empty hogshead, proceeded to apply to his person a gentle flagellation, with a delicate cowhide.¹

In our quiet village of New Holland [Pennsylvania], we understand *Lynch's law* was carried into execution last week, against a stranger who was taken from his domicile, tarred and feathered in the true Yankee style, marched out of town and let run. . . . We have heard of another case of an appeal to Lynch's code.²

They have one in jail. They took him out yesterday, and gave him Lynch's law, that is 39 lashes in this country [Mississippi].³

Such, however, is too often the administration of law on the frontier, "*Lynch's law*," as it is technically termed.⁴

Forty years ago, the practice of wreaking private vengeance, or of inflicting summary and illegal punishment for crimes, actual or pretended, which has been glossed over by the name of *Lynch's Law*, was hardly known except in sparse, frontier settlements, beyond the reach of courts and legal proceedings.⁵

LYNCH LAW.

Lynch-Law Operations.—The Cincinnati Whig of July 23d, says, "a gentleman received a letter from Madison, (Miss.) which states that eighteen more of the gambling crew were waiting execution under the same laws as those put in force at Vicksburg."⁶

Anti-gaming societies have been introduced into a number of cities and towns. Executions by "*Lynch law*," have been numerous.⁷

I have just returned from witnessing the most horrid sight that ever fell to the lot of man, viz: the execution of "*Lynch Law*" upon a yellow fellow, by the horrible means of a *slow fire*.⁸

Perhaps some of our brethren in the Maine Conference will be diverted a little, on hearing that two of their delegates wrote opposite to each of their names, when they entered them in the stage or passengers' book at Wheeling, Va., "*No Abolitionist*." When in the land of "*Lynch law*" we must mind our P's and Q's you know.⁹

¹ *New York Star* in *Boston Post* (August 1, 1834), p. 2/3.

² *Liberator* (1834), Vol. IV, p. 153/2. In the second instance, "a celebrated Philadelphia Doctor" was threatened with tarring and feathering.

³ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 124/4. For all the extracts taken from the *Liberator*, I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Cutler.

⁴ W. IRVING, *Tour on the Prairies* (1835), p. 41.

⁵ *Southern Literary Messenger* (1839), Vol. V, p. 218. The original term became obsolete about this time, and I have not noted it after 1842.

⁶ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 131/5. In the *Liberator* of August 1, 1835, Vol. V, p. 124/4, a headline ran thus: "LYNCH LAW—FIVE GAMBLERS HUNG WITHOUT TRIAL."

⁷ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLVIII, p. 439/2.

⁸ *Liberator* (1836), Vol. VI, p. 83/3.

⁹ *Zion's Watchman* in *Liberator* (1836), Vol. VI, p. 99/4.

All good men must unite in condemning, as barbarous and unchristian, the resort to external Force; in other words, to the arbitrament of War, to international Lynch Law, or the great Trial by Battle, to determine justice between nations.¹

JUDGE LYNCH.

Warwick had no sooner emerged from the court house, than he was stripped of his clothing, and a plentiful coat of tar and feathers applied to him. He was afterwards whipped until almost insensible to pain. . . . It is said that during the execution of judge Lynch's sentence, the culprit frequently begged to be shot.²

Judge Lynch in Brownsville, Tenn. In accordance with a judgment pronounced by this distinguished dignitary, a man named Anson Moody was on the 12th instant made to receive one hundred lashes, and the brand of the letter R. on his cheek.³

From a written notice that met our eyes on the corner of the square, headed blacklegs beware! followed by a polite intimation that their absence would be particularly desirable by a certain given time; we suppose that the judge [Lynch] is about commencing the *Illinois circuit*.⁴

But to be serious—*Judge Lynch*, who presides with so much dignity in the grand courts of Mobocracy, and his myrmidons, forget . . . that "the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the church."⁵

¹ C. SUMNER, in *Memoir and Letters* (1845), Vol. II, p. 379. To give later examples of so common a term is needless, but it may be added that the attributive use of lynch law is not uncommon, as: "Lynch-law brother" (1887), "Lynch-law code" (1846), "Lynch-law halters" (1857), "Lynch-law pleas" (1859), "Lynch-law proceedings" (1857), "Lynch-law reports" (1892), "Lynch-law violence" (1857), etc.

² *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLVIII, p. 397/1. "Judge Lynch," of whose decisions we have heard so much since this date, is of course a purely jocular title, and he is sometimes referred to as "his honor, Chief justice Lynch" (*Niles' Register*, 1844, Vol. LXVI, p. 428 3), as "Mr. Justice Lynch" (*All the Year Round*, 1861, Vol. VI, p. 321/1), and as Hon. Justice Lynch" (*New York Herald*, December 26, 1871, p. 5/5). Similarly, we occasionally hear of "Doctor Lynch": "The citizens of Natchez . . . notified the gamblers of that city if they did not relieve it of their presence within twenty-four hours, judgment would be passed on them by Doctor Lynch, and punishment on the Vicksburg plan be immediately administered to them" (*Liberator*, 1835, Vol. V, p. 126/5). Other jocular titles are sometimes found, as "Judge Hang" and "Judge Law": "Judge Lynch . . . Pinned it into a chap a few days ago, down on the Runs in this district. . . . We learn that Judge Hang presided there and passed sentence on him" (*Niles' Register*, 1835, Vol. XLIX, p. 65/1). "Sometimes a few of the principal officers of Judge Lynch are called to an account by Judge Law (*Enemies of the Constitution Discovered*, 1835, p. 52). As showing what curious coincidences sometimes occur, it may be added that Judge Lawless, who made a famous charge in 1836 about the acts of "the few" and of "the many," was the name of a real person. (See *Liberator*, 1836, Vol. VI, p. 102/1; H. MARTINEAU, *Retrospect of Western Travel*, 1838, Vol. II, p. 208.)

³ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 169/5.

⁴ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLIX, p. 149/1.

⁵ *Liberator* (1838), Vol. VIII, p. 89/4. In his *Western Characters* (1853), p. 244, J. L. McCONNEL printed an agreement which purports to have been drawn up in Illinois October 12, 1820. In this there is an allusion to "the code of his honor, Judge Lynch." If genuine, this carries the title back considerably earlier than any certain example of it; but the genuineness of the agreement, like that of the document (to be mentioned later) of September 22, 1780, is in doubt.

TO LYNCH.

If all the O'Connells were to challenge me, I could not think of meeting them *now*. I consider and everyone else does that they are lynched.¹

The citizens of Vicksburg formed an anti-gambling society on the 4th, and at night Lynched one of the fraternity. The next . . . night another was Lynched.²

In this county several whites have been *Lynched* and ordered off.³

The evidence . . . produced an unanimous verdict on the part of the jury, that two should be *Lynched* and the other two excused. . . . The parties that were Lynched have left the county.⁴

There is no want of laws, heaven knows—and so do those who have been Lynched in person and property—but there is a want of respect for them.⁵

They were soundly flogged, or in other words—*Lynched*.⁶

Several . . . proceeded to the residence of judge BERMUDEZ, with a view to *Lynch* him or to inflict some severe punishment upon his person.⁷

I plunged my horse into the waves. Hard was the struggle but . . . my horse at length brought me safely through on the bridge and then on the opposite bank. . . . Probably I shall never forget Lynches Creek; for it had well nigh Lynched^d me.⁸

THE BOSTON RECORDER LYNCHED! The "Committee of Vigilance of the Post office" at Richmond, Va., has forbid the entrance of the Boston Recorder into that city!⁹

I have *Lynched* all the trees,—that is, *tarred* them.¹⁰

Our Mississippi friend . . . I believe would have been ready to lynch on the spot any one who should have assailed his Quaker friend.¹¹

The other class . . . were then either lynched or warned to leave the county in so many days, or else shot if they persisted in remaining.¹²

¹ 1835, May 9, B. DISRAELI, in *Correspondence with His Sister* (1880), p. 37. Taken from the *Oxford Dictionary*, where Mr. Bradley says: "Apparently misused for: To render infamous." On May 6, Disraeli had written: "There is but one opinion among all parties, viz. that I have *squashed* them" (p. 36). Perhaps, therefore, he meant that the O'Connells had been "squelched" by the public letters he had written.

² *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 126/5.

³ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 130/5.

⁴ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLIX, p. 77/1.

⁵ *New York Transcript*, in *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 192/3.

⁶ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 204/3.

⁷ *Niles' Register* (1836), Vol. LI, p. 69/1.

⁸ W. H. WILLS, in *Publications of the Southern History Association* (1837), Vol. VI, p. 479. See, too, *Nation* (1903), Vol. LXXVI, p. 225. The writer was crossing Lynch's Creek, South Carolina.

⁹ *Liberator* (1838), Vol. VIII, p. 131/2.

¹⁰ 1839, April 7, H. W. LONGFELLOW, in *Life* (1891), Vol. I, p. 339.

¹¹ 1839, August 8, J. G. WHITTIER, in *Life and Letters* (1894), p. 246.

¹² *American Whig Review* (1845), Vol. I, p. 122.

Harris, . . . who murdered Mr. Moseley, . . . was taken out of prison by a mob . . . and was no doubt lynched by them.¹

Their plans . . . were, to demand that Lawrence . . . should be demolished, the leaders of the free-state party lynched, and the others warned to leave the territory.²

As soon as it was known that the prisoner was not to be hung, . . . threats were made that if she was not condemned to death, the people themselves would lynch her.³

FOUR MEN LYNCHED IN TEXAS.—In addition to the many accounts of lynchings in Texas we have the following from the *Novarro Express*. No reasons are given for hanging up four citizens of the place.⁴

Judge Almond . . . said to me: "Doctor, you didn't know it, but I saved both your lives . . . at Platte City. . . . I found that a paper was circulating among the outside people, which pledged the signers to take you from the officers and lynch you."⁵

LYNCHEE.

The Lynchers not satisfied with the result, brought him before their peculiar tribunal.⁶

The St. Louis Lynchers next ordered the heads of Marion College to hold a public meeting, and declare their convictions and feelings on the subject of slavery.⁷

LYNCING.

MORE "LYNCING!" . . . Short . . . cut his [victim's] throat to the neck bone. . . . He was taken . . . and executed, by hanging.⁸

Horrible Lynching . . . Crook and Carter . . . have been taken by force from prison by some of the citizens of that county and hung!⁹

LYNCING. A singular act of lynching was perpetrated recently at the Oberlin theological institute. . . . They secured the man's person, gagged and blindfolded him, and then inflicted 25 lashes on his bare back with a cowhide.¹⁰

Lynching in a Court House. . . . A mob rushed into the room, put out the lights, stabbed Carpenter in several places, and cut off his head, leaving him dead on the floor.¹¹

¹ *Liberator* (1856), Vol. XXVI, p. 204/3.

² W. A. PHILLIPS, *Conquest of Kansas* (1856), p. 195.

³ *Liberator* (1857), Vol. XXVII, p. 160/4.

⁴ *Liberator* (1860), Vol. XXX, p. 179/1.

⁵ J. DOY, *Narrative* (1860), p. 78, note.

⁶ *Liberator* (1835), Vol. V, p. 169/5.

⁷ H. MARTINEAU, *Retrospect of Western Travel* (1838), Vol. II, p. 211.

⁸ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLIX, p. 228/1.

⁹ *Niles' Register* (1839), Vol. LVII, p. 256/1.

¹⁰ *Niles' Register* (1841), Vol. LIX, p. 304/3.

¹¹ Quoted by J. S. BUCKINGHAM in his *Slave States of America* (1842), Vol. II, p. 449. While in the early days to lynch generally meant to whip or otherwise chastise, yet from almost the beginning the verbal substantive lynching was applied indifferently to a whipping or a hanging.

Lynching judgments are a worse step than the guarded measures of strictly legal vengeance.¹

Lynching bees have become the pastime of the rougher element of a community.²

The lexicography of the subject may be rounded off with some examples of nonce words.

A lynch club—a committee of vigilance—could easily exercise a kind of *surveillance* over any neighborhood.³

The slave States continue to be excessively agitated. They appear to have organized Vigilance Committees and Lynch Clubs in various places.⁴

We are no advocates of Lynchism, nor ever can be.⁵

The very condition of public feeling which makes lynching possible, makes the conviction of negroes in the courts for all lynchable offences absolutely certain.⁶

ORIGIN OF THE TERM.

Turning, now, from the term itself to the theories as to its origin, these are found to be of a somewhat varied nature. In 1855 C. A. Bristed wrote:

Lynch, in several of the northern-county dialects, means to beat or maltreat. Lynch Law, then, would be simply equivalent to *club law*; and the change of a letter may be easily accounted for by the fact that the name of Lynch is as common in some parts of America as in Ireland.⁷

Three years later this notion was somewhat improved upon by P. Thompson, as follows:

A sort of thong used by shoemakers in the time of Beaumont and Fletcher was called a *lingel*. . . . And as a strap was a very ready

¹ CORA MONTGOMERY, *Eagle Pass* (1852), p. 154. My attention was called to this book by Dr. J. E. Cutler.

² *Age-Herald* of Birmingham, Alabama, in the *Nation* of November 27, 1902, Vol. LXXV, p. 413/1. The attributive use of *lynching* is common, as: "lynching case" (1855), "lynching evil" (1899), "lynching habit" (1904), "lynching mob" (1902), "lynching party" (1857), "lynching pitch" (1894), "lynching tribunal" (1887), etc.

³ W. H. BROADNAX, in W. L. GARRISON'S *Thoughts on African Colonization* (1832), Part II, p. 74. For this extract I am indebted to Mr. W. P. Garrison.

⁴ 1835, September 17, W. L. GARRISON, in *Life* (1885), Vol. I, p. 519. Such expressions are also found as: "lynch code" (1838), "lynch committee" (1835), "lynch court" (1838), "lynch epidemics" (1897), "lynch mob" (1838), "lynch punishment" (1843), "lynch system" (1839), "lynch tribunal" (1843), "lynch verdict" (1852), etc.

⁵ *Liberator* (1838), Vol. VIII, p. 89/2.

⁶ *Nation* (1893), Vol. LVII, p. 222/3.

⁷ "The English Language in America," in *Cambridge Essays*, p. 60.

instrument of punishment, it is probable that a *lingel* was frequently used for that purpose, and the phrase to *linge*, might be as common as to *strap* is at this time. To *linge* would be in use in daily parlance when the first colonists left England . . . and *linge* law, now called *Lynch* law, might be introduced as one of the rough necessities of the settlement. This would be only one out of some hundreds of words which are now called Americanisms; which are, in reality, good old English words, used generally in England two hundred years ago, and which have now become antiquated and obsolete here, although retained in America.¹

In 1883 we were told about "the old Anglo-Saxon verb *linch*, meaning to beat with a club, to chastise, &c."² As a matter of fact, *linch*, a variant of *linge* (a word of obscure origin), so far from being an Anglo-Saxon verb, has not been traced earlier than 1600.³ Moreover, so far as is known, *linch* and *linge* have never at any time been in use in this country. Finally, even if it should be discovered that these words were formerly common here, the original form of the term—Lynch's law—makes it all but certain that it could not have been derived from the verb *linch* or *linge*.

The original form of the term, Lynch's law, and the fact that in the early days even its derivatives were usually spelled with a capital L, indicate that the practice was called from some person of that name. Indeed, this suggestion occurred at the very beginning, for to the remark made by Judge Roane in 1817 was appended this note, presumably written by Wirt:

Thirty-nine lashes, inflicted without trial or law, on mere suspicion of guilt, which could not be regularly proven. This lawless practice, which, sometimes by the order of a magistrate, sometimes without, prevailed extensively in the upper counties on James river, took its name from the gentleman who set the first example of it.⁴

Who was "the gentleman who set the first example of it"?

¹ *Notes and Queries* of October 2, 1858, Second Series, Vol. VI, p. 278. In the same journal of December 18 a correspondent wrote: "Lynch-pin . . . is doubtless derived from the Anglo-Saxon *lynis*, an axle-tree, and means the axle-pin. Is lynch, then, a blow or jolt, to which of course the axle-trees of carts, &c., are continually subject?" (Vol. VI, p. 513).

² *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 9th ed., Vol. XV, p. 105.

³ See the *Oxford Dictionary* and the *English Dialect Dictionary*.

⁴ *Life of P. Henry* (1818), p. 372. The note is omitted in W. W. HENRY'S *Patrick Henry*.

To this question there have been several answers, but only three need extended notice.¹

¹ It has also been suggested that lynch law is derived not from a person but from a creek. North Carolina and South Carolina has each a river called Lynch's Creek. How early the North Carolina creek received its name, I have been unable to ascertain, but in 1775 "Linches Cr." is found on H. Mouzon's map of North Carolina. In 1884 J. H. Wheeler related a story to the following effect. During the revolution there was a noted Tory named Major Beard, whose capture was determined on by Major John H. Drake, his son Britton Drake, and other patriots. This was finally accomplished, though only after a struggle between Britton Drake and Beard in which the latter was left for dead. But he revived, and "after some consultation it was resolved to take him as a prisoner to headquarters of Colonel Seawell, commanding in camp at a ford on Lynch Creek, in Franklin County, about thirty miles off. . . . After reaching camp, it was determined to organize a court-martial, and try him for his life. But before proceeding to trial, a report came that a strong body of Tories were in pursuit to rescue him; this created a panic, for they knew his popularity and power, so they hung him. The report proved a false alarm, and it being suggested that as the sentence had been inflicted, before the judgment of the court had been pronounced therefore it was illegal. The body was taken down, the court reorganized, he was tried, condemned, and re-hung by the neck until he was dead. The tree on which he was hung stood not far from Rocky Ford, on Lynch's Creek; and it became a saying in Franklin, when a person committed any offence of magnitude, that 'he ought to be taken to Lynch's Creek;' and so the word 'Lynch law' became a fixture in the English Language" (*Reminiscences and Memoirs of North Carolina*, pp. 172, 173). Wheeler added that this tradition was communicated to him by the Hon. B. F. Moore, who received it from the Drake family. Now it so happens that Wheeler had once before related the story of Beard. In 1851 he gave it as narrated to him by his "venerable and worthy friend Michael Collins, Esquire, of Warren, now in the 73d year of his age, and may be relied on for its correctness" (*Historical Sketches of North Carolina*, Vol. II, p. 274). Agreeing in some respects, the two stories differ widely in others. Major Beard, Major John H. Drake, and his son Britton Drake of the Moore version become Captain Beard, James Drake, Esq., and Albritain Drake in the Collins version. In the latter, too, the supposed killing of Beard is done, not by Albritain Drake but by his half-brother Robert Bridges. In the Collins version the *dénouement* is as follows: "They all went out to see his dead body, but Beard had recovered so as to sit up. He was then taken into custody. A negro man, Simon, who had a wife at Drake's, caught another one of his band, named Porch. These were taken to Colonel Seawell, in Franklin County. They were tried by a Court-martial, and both were forthwith hung. Such was the end of Captain Beard." There is nothing here about a hanging first and a trial afterwards; nothing about Lynch's Creek; nothing about lynch law. A comparison of the two stories leads to the conclusion that the "tradition" in the Drake family arose somewhere between 1851 and 1878, in which year Mr. Moore died. According to Wheeler, James Drake "lived to a good old age, and died in 1790;" while John H. Drake was a member of the North Carolina House of Commons in 1792-1796 and 1798, and of the North Carolina Senate in 1800 and 1805. For the Wheeler extract of 1884, I am indebted to Dr. J. E. Cutler.

Lynch's (or Lynche's) Creek, South Carolina, was known certainly as early as 1752 (A. GREGG, *History of the Old Cheraws*, p. 131). In his "Sectionalism and Representation in South Carolina," Dr. W. A. SCHAPER, speaking of the Regulators, said: "The settlers agreed to rely on lynch law, which received its name at this time" (*Annual Report of the American Historical Association for 1900*, Vol. I, p. 337). From his reply to a letter requesting his authority for this statement, it appears that Dr. Schaper relied too implicitly on his memory, and that Gregg, by whom he thought the statement had been made, so far from asserting that the term arose during the Regulator movement in South Carolina, had merely said that "they called themselves 'Regulators,' and thus 'Lynch law' had its origin at this period" (p. 128). Mr. W. E. Stone of Charleston reminds me that in 1859 Dr. R. W. GIBBS had written: "The Regulation, an association of respectable planters, took the matter in hand, and enforced order by a system of Lynch law" (in J. B. O'NEALE's *Biographical Sketches of the Bench and Bar of South Carolina*, Vol. I, p. x). And in 1851, as Dr. J. E. Cutler informs me, J. JOHNSON had written: "This process, in what is now called 'lynch law,' was

JAMES LYNCH OF GALWAY.

There formerly existed in Galway, Ireland, an influential family named Lynch. In 1493 James Lynch Fitz Stephen was mayor of the town,¹ and in the course of two centuries there grew up a tradition in regard to an event which is said to have occurred in that year. A son² of James Lynch murdered a young Spaniard,

then designated 'regulating,' and the associates for this purpose were called 'Regulators' (Traditions and Reminiscences of the American Revolution, p. 544). Thus for over half a century South Carolina and lynch law have been associated together. Curiously enough, too, there is proof that the Regulators intended to, and presumably did, hold a meeting at Lynch's Creek: "CHARLES-TOWN, SOUTH CAROLINA, . . . July 25. . . . The last Accounts from the Back Settlements, say, that the People called the REGULATORS were to have a meeting at Lynch's Creek, on last Friday, where it was expected 1200 would be assembled" (Boston Post-Boy of August 22, 1768, No. 575, p. 2/1). The late Mr. Edward McCrady felt quite sure that "nothing to connect the term 'Lynch Law' with that of 'Regulation' or 'Regulators' in Carolina will ever be found" (Nation of January 15, 1903, Vol. LXXVI, p. 53). What future research may yield remains to be seen, but certainly nothing of the sort has yet been found.

¹ The archives of the town of Galway from 1485 to 1710, edited by J. T. GILBERT, were printed in 1885 in the *Historical Manuscripts Commission*, Tenth Report, Appendix, Part V, pp. 380-520. From these it appears that James Lynch Fitz Stephen was mayor in 1493, 1510, and 1515, and that he held the office of master in 1507, 1511, 1513, 1514, and 1518, after which his name disappears (pp. 385, 392-97). James Lynch is also sometimes called warden as well as mayor of Galway, and the commentators appear to regard the offices as identical. Such was not the case. In a charter dated January 26, 1396-97, Richard II. authorized the provost and burgesses to elect yearly among themselves a chief magistrate. In a charter dated December 15, 1484, Richard III. granted the privilege of yearly electing a mayor and two bailiffs. On September 24, 1484, Donat O'Murray, Archbishop of Tuam, erected the Church of St. Nicholas into a collegiate with one warden and eight vicars. By a bull dated the sixth of the Ides of March, 1484, Pope Innocent VIII. granted "for ever to the aforesaid sovereign, provost or mayor, bailiffs and equals of the said town a right of patronage, and of presenting the aforesaid priests to the warden, to be instituted vicars by him, and of presenting the warden to the said priests or vicars, to be instituted by them" (HARDIMAN, *History of Galway*, pp. 62, 68, 69, 234, 235, Appendix, pp. i-vi). The offices of warden and of mayor were annual. As James Lynch was mayor in 1493, he could not have been warden in that year; but he may have been warden some other year, though of this no proof exists.

² As to the name of this son, the stories differ. In 1824 H. DUTTON, in his *Statistical and Agricultural Survey of the County of Galway*, as quoted in *Black's Guide to Galway* (1868), p. 265, calls him "an only son." In the archives of Galway there is frequent mention of Stephen Lynch Fitz James between the years 1499 and 1516. In 1828 Prince PÖCKLER-MUSKAU gave the name of the son as Edward Lynch (*Tour in England, Ireland, and France*, 1832, Vol. I, pp. 265-78). At the back of the Church of St. Nicholas, there is a stone bearing this inscription: "This memorial of the stern and unbending justice of the chief magistrate of this city, James Lynch Fitzstephen, elected mayor A. D. 1493, who condemned and executed his own guilty son, Walter, on this spot, has been restored to its ancient site, A. D. 1854, with the approval of the Town Commissioners, by their Chairman, Very Rev. Peter Daly, P. P., and Vicar of St. Nicholas" (*Murray's Handbook for Travellers in Ireland*, 1878, p. 183). This memorial is a tablet on which is carved a skull and bones and the following inscription:

1624

REMEMBER DEATHE

VANITI OF VANITI & ALL IS BUT VANITI.

In some accounts the date is 1524, but the above inscription is copied from a picture given by HARDIMAN in his *History of Galway*, facing p. 316.

confessed his crime, was tried, found guilty, and condemned to die. Spurred on by feelings of compassion, the populace endeavored to save the youth's life; but the inexorable father, in order to prevent a miscarriage of justice, either took upon himself the office of executioner and hanged his own son or saw that the sentence was carried out.¹ Though no trace of this story has been found in print before 1809,² yet the tradition can be shown to be of much older date. In 1674 Father Francisco de Ayora deposed:

Mr. James Lynch fitz Stephen built at his own cost and charges the quier of our blessed Lady's church in the west of Galway, and has most sumptuously adorned with glass windows the said church of Saint Nicholas in the year of Christ 1493. It was this James that gott his own son hanged out of one of the windows of his house for having committed murder and broaken trust towards a st[r]anger, for to be an example of sincere fidelity to all posterity.³

In the same year James Lynch, archbishop of Tuam, deposed:

He also knows, that one Lynch being maior of said town, having heard that his son broak his word with a stranger, gott him immediately hanged out of the windows of his house, for an example to posterity. And this is publicked belived throughout all the province.³

Whether this tradition has some historical basis, and if so exactly what, perhaps will never be known;⁴ but what the actual

¹ There is more than one version of the tradition, but the gist of the story is given in the text.

² In his *History of Galway* (1820), pp. 70-76, J. HARDIMAN gives the story as related by REV. E. MANGIN in his novel of *George the Third*, published in 1800. This novel I have not seen. Since then the story has been constantly repeated by writers and travelers, and about 1829 REV. E. GROVES of Dublin wrote a tragedy called *The Warden of Galway*. This play long held the stage, and was acted a few nights before Thackeray's arrival in 1842 (*Irish Sketch Book*, 1869, p. 167). It has apparently never been printed, but from the allusions to it in *Notes and Queries* of August 30 and October 11, 1862, Third Series, Vol. II, pp. 167, 236, it appears to have been "founded on the celebrated history of Walter Lynch, who was the warden or mayor of Galway, in the early part of the seventeenth century." Here we have a different name and a different date from the usual story. In 1846 Hardiman spoke of this tragedy and said that Mr. Groves "considers it as a popular story founded on fiction, well adapted for the genius of poetry, but inadmissible as an historic fact, without better evidence than has been hitherto adduced in its support" (*Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society*, Vol. I, p. 69).

³ *Miscellany of the Irish Archaeological Society* (1846), Vol. I, pp. 50, 59.

⁴ The *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland* ends with 1307; the *Calendar of State Papers relating to Ireland* begins with 1509; and the *Calendar of the Carew Manuscripts* begins with 1515. Hence there is nothing in print from these sources for the year 1493. In the following works, which contain descriptions of Galway, there is no allusion to the story: J. SPED, *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611), p. 143; W. CAMDEN, *Brittain* (1637), Ireland, pp. 99, 100; R. O'FLAHERTY, *Chorographical Descriptions of West or H-Iar Connaught*,

facts were is really immaterial, for the commentators have been singularly at fault in seeing in this story an instance of lynch law. The son either did or did not commit a crime. If he was innocent and yet was hanged by his father, it was a case of simple murder on the part of the father. If the son was guilty, and the father insisted on the carrying out of a duly imposed sentence, the father was merely playing the part of an Irish Brutus.

To attempt to explain a term first met with in America in 1817, which then had the specific meaning of a whipping, and which from the nature of the case could not have been in existence many years, by an event alleged but not known to have occurred in Ireland in 1493, and which bore no resemblance whatsoever to lynch law, savors of the grotesque.

STEPHEN LYNCH OF JAMAICA.

Equally unsatisfactory was the attempt made to connect lynch law with a certain Stephen Lynch.¹ On January 20, 1687-88, James II. issued "A PROCLAMATION For the more effectual Reducing and Suppressing of PIRATES and PRIVATEERS in America."² A few days later the following notice appeared:

1684, pp. 35, 36 (first printed by the Irish Archaeological Society in 1846); W. W. SEWARD, *Topographia Hibernica* (1797); E. WAKEFIELD, *Account of Ireland* (1812). James Lynch and lynch law were first associated together by D. M. STEVENS in *Notes and Queries*, of November 9, 1861, Second Series, Vol. XII, p. 365. In the same journal of August 23, 1862, Third Series, Vol. II, p. 147, a correspondent gives what purports to be an extract from "the Council Books of Galway" relating to "James Lynch, mayor of Galway in 1491." As already pointed out, the archives of Galway are silent on the subject. It does not follow, however, that the tradition is without historical basis, for the archives from 1487 to 1495 merely record the names of the mayors for those years. It may be added that a statute enacted in 1548 required that if any gentleman "apprehend any the townis adversaries who doth spoyll and robe the Comens of the same of ther provicion and merchandiz by land or sea, and sending that naughty person into this town to answer for such faultes and crymis . . . ther shall a queste passe on him, and if the queste condemne him to death, the Mayor and officers forthwith shall put that person so condemnid to execucion, withoute any respects of grace or favore" (*Historical Manuscripts Commission*, p. 412).

¹ In *Notes and Queries* of October 23, 1858, Second Series, Vol. VI, p. 338, C. H. BAYLEY wrote: "In my opinion this term is derived from one Lynch, who in 1687-8 was sent to America to suppress piracy. (*London Gazette*, 2319., Feb. 6-9, 1687-8.) As the colonists did not administer law with vigour or certainty, owing to 'the difficulty of adhering to the usual forms of law in the newly fashioned territories,' Lynch was probably empowered to punish pirates summarily, whence this term would arise." This vague statement has since been frequently repeated, but the ascertainable facts are now given for the first time. In 1887 H. H. BANCROFT remarked that "in 1687 one Judge Lynch . . . is said to have executed justice summarily" (*Popular Tribunals*, Vol. I, p. 6).

² This proclamation was printed in the *London Gazette* of January 25-26, 1687-88, No. 2315, p. 1.

*Whitehall, Febr. 8. Stephen Lynch Esq; being Appointed, with His Majesties Approbation, One of the Agents of Sir Robert Holmes His Majesties Sole Commissioner for suppressing of Pirates in America, and having received particular Directions amongst other things committed to his Trust, to carry his Majesties late Proclamation in that behalf to Jamaica, and to the Spanish Ports as well on the North Sea as to Panama on the South Sea, being furnished with all necessary Passports from the Crown of Spain; After which he is to remain for the further performance of this Service, at Jamaica: His Majesty has been Graciously pleased to continue the place of Consul in Flanders unto the said Mr. Lynch, to be executed by his Deputy during his Absence, as a Mark of His Majesties Grace and Favor to him.*¹

Stephen Lynch was in Jamaica by April 24, 1688, he visited certain of the Spanish ports, he left Jamaica for home March 15, 1689, and during his year's stay in the West Indies he appears to have incurred the dislike of everyone. His proceedings were perhaps arbitrary and ill-advised, but he did not inflict illegal punishments, and he never set foot on the soil of the present United States.²

CHARLES LYNCH OF VIRGINIA.

It cannot be doubted that the proper place to look for "the gentleman who set the first example" of lynch law, referred to but not identified by Wirt in 1817, is in this country. This gentleman was not again alluded to until 1835, when we were informed that the practice arose "many years ago" in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and that the party which held an impromptu trial of a poacher "proceeded to try him in due form, choosing one of their number, a farmer named *Lynch*, to be judge."³ In the same year J. H. Ingraham remarked that

¹ *London Gazette* of February 6-9, 1687-88, No. 2319, p. 2/2.

² Admiral Sir Robert Holmes complained (August 12, 1686) that his "agent Mr. Lynch has received great discouragement from the Government of Jamaica in the business of suppressing pirates;" while Sir Francis Watson, President of the Council of Jamaica spoke (March 15, 1689) of Lynch as "a very troublesome and unsatisfied man," and declared (April 22, 1689) that Lynch "has stirred up irreconcilable enmity with the French, and his inconsiderate management has done nothing towards the repressing of pirates, for not one would come in after his severity and his threats," and that Lynch's "oppressive behaviour crippled the execution of the duke's commission." Stephen Lynch's career in the West Indies can be followed in the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1685-1698*, Nos. 1715, 1725, 1734, 1759, 1775, 1777, 1782, 1801, 1801 I, 1865, 1884, 1945, 1946, 1948, 1951, p. 579; *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1698-1699*, Nos. 32, 52 I, 85, 85 II.

³ *Niles' Register* (1835), Vol. XLVIII, p. 402/2. Washington County was formed out of Westmoreland County on March 28, 1781 (*Acts of the General Assembly of Pennsylvania*, 1782, pp. 436-44; *Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. XII, p. 681).

the "summary process of popular justice" was termed "Lynch's law," I believe from its originator."¹ In 1839 C. A. Murray said he believed the term originated "in one of the Southern States, where a body of farmers, unable to bring some depredators to justice, according to a legal form, chose one of their number, named Lynch, judge; from the rest they selected a jury, and from this self-constituted court they issued and enforced sundry whippings, and other punishments."² In 1842 Brande declared that lynch law "is said to have been so called from a Virginian farmer of the name of Lynch, who took the law into his own hands on some occasion, by chasing a thief, tying him to a tree, and flogging him with his own hands."³ In 1844 we were told about "a very awful personage named Judge Lynch" of Arkansas, "whose unrivalled ability in the science of cross-questioning had often thrown light upon the most obscure cases" and had been "inherited from a famous Virginian ancestor of his" who was "a miller and a justice of the peace in the back woods."⁴ In 1855 C. A. Bristed said that "it is usually explained as having been derived from the emphatic practice of a certain Judge Lynch, who lived somewhere in the 'Far West.'"⁵ These statements and the persons alluded to in them are equally vague and shadowy.

We next come to a set of explanations in which a specific person is mentioned. In 1836 a writer declared that "it will be perceived from the annexed paper, that the law, so called, originated in 1780, in Pittsylvania, Virginia. Colonel William Lynch, of that county, was its author."⁶ In 1846 F. Wyse wrote:

¹ *The South-West*, Vol. II, p. 186.

² *Travels in North America*, Vol. II, p. 79.

³ *Dictionary of Science, Literature, and Art*, p. 689. Curiously enough, this was the first dictionary of any sort to recognize the term.

⁴ G. W. FEATHERSTONHAUGH, *Excursion through the Slave States*, pp. 89, 90.

⁵ *Cambridge Essays*, p. 60.

⁶ *Southern Literary Messenger*, Vol. II, p. 389. This reference comes to me through Mr. J. P. Lamberton of Philadelphia and Mr. E. Ingle of Baltimore. The "annexed paper" was a copy of an agreement said to have been drawn up September 22, 1780. It is interesting, if genuine, but we are not told where it came from. It was reprinted by Mr. INGLE in his *Southern Sidelights* (1896), pp. 192, 193.

Who was this Col. William Lynch? There was a William Lynch who married Eleanor (Dorsey) Todd, the widow of Thomas Todd of Todd's Neck, Baltimore County, Maryland. Her will was proved in 1760, hence this William Lynch must have flourished about that

John Lynch, the terrible judge, was a native of South Carolina, who emigrated to Kentucky shortly after the pioneer, Daniel Boone, had established himself there. . . . The appointment of Lynch as a judge, and the first exercise of his jurisdiction, took place in the case of an Indian, who stole a horse from Daniel Boone. The Indian was caught, almost in the act, and Boone immediately instituted a court, and twelve jurors, to try the offence. John Lynch was elected chief justice. . . . Lynch was a daring dissolute fellow, addicted to every species of vice.¹

In 1860 we were told that lynch law "derives its name from John Lynch, a farmer who exercised it upon the fugitive slaves and criminals dwelling in the 'dismal swamp,' North Carolina, when they committed outrages upon persons and property which the colonial law could not promptly redress."² And in 1875 we read of "James Lynch, a farmer of Piedmont, Va."³ So far as I have been able to ascertain, all these were purely mythical persons.

Finally, we find lynch law associated with Charles Lynch of Bedford County, Virginia. In a conversation alleged to have taken place in 1834, but not recorded until 1859, R. Venable of Prince Edward County, Virginia, is reported to have said:

I knew Mr. Lynch well—as well as a stripling could be expected to know a dignified and venerable gentleman. He was for many years the senior and presiding justice of the County Court of Pittsylvania, whose

time; but whether he was of Maryland or of Virginia is not stated. (*Virginia Magazine*, 1895, Vol. III, p. 82.) There was also a William Lynch, a younger son of John Lynch, the founder of Lynchburg, Virginia. MRS. JULIA M. CABELL, in her *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg* (1858), pp. 20-22, says that "William Lynch was a colonel in the late war, and was stationed at Camp Holly." Camp Holly was near Newmarket, Virginia (F. B. HERRMAN, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army*, 1895, Vol. II, p. 509), and the Mexican war is presumably alluded to. Mrs. Cabell adds that William Lynch was "placed as a student at the University of Virginia." As Jefferson's institution was chartered in 1819, it is obvious that this William Lynch could not have been the alleged Col. William Lynch who drew up the alleged agreement of 1780.

When the 1836 writer spoke of Col. William Lynch of Pittsylvania County, he perhaps confused him with Col. Charles Lynch of Bedford County; but this is mere conjecture.

¹*America*, Vol. I, pp. 203, 204. It need scarcely be said that the name of John Lynch does not occur in the list of Kentucky judges (1792-1847) given in L. COLLINS's *Historical Sketches of Kentucky* (1848), p. 106. There was, however, a John Lynch at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, in 1775 (R. H. COLLINS, *History of Kentucky*, 1878, Vol. II, pp. 518, 519). But then there was a John Lynch in Pennsylvania (*Pennsylvania Colonial Records*, Vol. XI, p. 214), a John Lynch in Virginia, and doubtless a score of other John Lynches at the same period.

²J. HAYDN's *Dictionary of Dates*, 9th ed., p. 409. The writer adds: "This mode of administering justice began about the end of the seventeenth century." The 7th ed., 1855, does not contain the term lynch law; the 8th ed. I have not seen. Where the editor, B. VINCENT, got the story, I do not know, but perhaps from some English newspaper.

³*Educational Notes and Queries*, Vol. I, p. 162.

terms he attended with remarkable punctuality. His advanced age prevented him from taking the field during the War of Independence, but no man more heartily embraced or more zealously supported the cause of the colonists. . . . Mr. Lynch was a man of enlarged mind, great decision of character, fixidness, almost sternness of purpose, but most eminently a law-loving and law-abiding man. . . . Our flourishing town of Lynchburg received its name in compliment to his worth.¹

On November 25, 1842, Colonel William Martin wrote:

This method of breaking up combinations of rogues was first set on foot by Col. Charles Lynch, of Bedford county, where I was raised. He and my father were acquainted. (The same man for whom Lynchburg was named.) This plan was started some seventy or eighty years ago.²

In 1856 G. D. Brewerton said:

Lynch law owes its title to a certain Squire Lynch—a stern and uncompromising old patriot, who lived during “the times that tried men’s souls,” on his plantation, distant some three miles from the present site of Lynchburg, Va. It was the custom in those stirring days of the Revolution, for his neighbors, when they caught a tory, to bring the unlucky culprit before Squire Lynch, who at once organized a court of his own selection, in which he himself was judge, jury, and counsel for the prisoner. . . . A venerable oak, one of the real old settlers, is even now pointed out to the curious, as the canopy under which Judge Lynch

¹ *Harper’s Magazine*, May, 1859, Vol. XVIII, pp. 795, 796. The lynching of the Vicksburg gamblers took place in 1835, not in 1834. It is impossible to say with certainty whom the writer had in mind, but the allusion to Lynchburg shows that either Charles Lynch or John Lynch is meant. Charles Lynch did take the field, while John Lynch, who was a Quaker and so a non-combatant, did not die until 1821. Again we have an allusion to Pittsylvania County, but apparently no Lynches were connected with that county. In 1753 Bedford County was formed out of Lunenburg County; in 1754 parts of Albemarle and of Lunenburg Counties were added to Bedford; in 1766 Pittsylvania County was formed out of Halifax County; in 1776 Washington County was formed out of Fincastle County; in 1782 Campbell County was formed out of Bedford. (HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. VI, pp. 381, 441, Vol. VIII, p. 205, Vol. IX, p. 257, Vol. X, p. 447; *Journal of the House of Delegates*, January 5, 1782, p. 73.)

² *Publications of the Southern History Association* (1900), Vol. IV, p. 464. Col. William Martin, a son of Gen. Joseph Martin, was born in 1765 and died in 1846. He was, therefore, seventy-seven years old when he wrote the passage in the text. Col. Martin says that the practice began between 1762 and 1772—that is, either before he was born or when he was not more than seven years old.

The statement that Lynchburg was named for Charles Lynch is frequently made, but appears to be an error. In 1786 there passed the Virginia legislature “An act to establish a town on the lands of John Lynch, in the County of Campbell” (HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. XII, pp. 398, 399). Forty-five acres of land, the property of John Lynch, were vested in ten trustees for the purpose of establishing “a town by the name of Lynchburg.” The proper founder of Lynchburg appears to have been John Lynch, and he has been so regarded by Mrs. Cabell and others. John Lynch was a brother of Charles Lynch and died October 31, 1821. Among the trustees were Charles Lynch and William Martin. Whether the latter was the Col. William Martin who wrote the passage in the text, I do not know; but if so, he was then only twenty-one years old.

held his rough and ready court; those who have seen it, say that the notches are still visible upon its moss-grown trunk, which, in "old lang syne," kept the cords from slipping, while the tory got his dose. The town of Lynchburg takes its name from the Judge.¹

In 1870 E. A. Pollard wrote:

Lynchburg . . . was established in 1786 by an Irish emigrant of the name of Lynch. *En passant*, the term "Lynch law" was derived from his brother, a hot-tempered Irishman, who was colonel in the Revolutionary war, and who was in the habit of dealing summarily with the Tories and desperadoes who infested this part of the country.²

In 1875 E. King remarked:

An Irish emigrant gave his name, in 1786, to the town; and the famous term "Lynch law," now so universal, sprang from the summary manner in which this hot-headed Hibernian—a colonel in the Revolutionary army—treated such tories as were caught by him.³

In 1903 Mr. L. P. Summers said:

At the time in question [1779], Captain Charles Lynch, of Bedford County, was manager for the Commonwealth of the Lead Mines on New river, and, as a result of the visit of Captain Campbell to Montgomery in this year, he thereafter adopted Campbell's method of dealing with Tories and wrong-doers; and, ever after, during the war, when any of the inhabitants were suspected of wrong doing or treasonable conduct, they were dealt with according to what was termed "Captain Lynch's Law," and from this man and this occasion originated the term "Lynch Law," as it is practised throughout the nation, under peculiar conditions, at this day.⁴

In Charles Lynch at least a real person has been hit upon, and of the many candidates who have been proposed as the putative father of lynch law, he is the only one whose claims deserve serious consideration. Let us see who he was, for the above accounts are inaccurate and there were at least three of the name. The first

¹ *War in Kansas*, pp. 146, 147. The oak tree of 1856 was later singularly transformed into a walnut tree, for in 1900 Mr. H. C. FEATHERSTON wrote: "On the lawn of the old Lynch homestead, two miles from the present flourishing village of Lynch Station, . . . still stands the walnut tree on which lynch law was first administered" (*Green Bag*, Vol. XII, p. 158). It will be remembered that a tree also figured in the "tradition" in the Drake family of North Carolina.

² *The Virginia Tourist*, p. 42.

³ *The Great South*, p. 555.

⁴ *History of Southwest Virginia and Washington County*, p. 293. In reply to an inquiry, Mr. Summers writes me that he can give "no further information in regard to the term 'Lynch Law' than such as is found in" his book and in D. SCHENCK's *North Carolina, 1780-81, 1889*, pp. 309, 310.

Charles Lynch was a redemptioner who came from Ireland to Virginia about 1725, married Sarah Clark the daughter of the planter to whom he had been sold by the captain of the ship that brought him over, took up large tracts of land, became a member of the House of Burgesses in 1748,¹ and died about 1750.² The second Charles Lynch, son of the first Charles Lynch, was the supposed originator of lynch law. The third Charles Lynch, son of the second Charles Lynch, was governor of Mississippi in 1836 and 1837 and died in 1853.³ Hereafter in speaking of Charles Lynch, it will be understood that the second of the name is meant.

Charles Lynch was born in 1736 at Chestnut Hill, near Lynch's Ferry⁴ across the James River, where Lynchburg was later founded; on January 12, 1755, he married Anne Terrill; between 1769 and 1776 he sat for Bedford County in the House of Burgesses;⁵ in 1769 he signed the non-importation agreement;⁶ in 1774 he was made a justice of the peace under a commission from Dunmore, and retained the position when the county court was reorganized according to the ordinance of the Convention passed July 3, 1776; in 1775 he was a colonel of militia for Bedford

¹For Albemarle county (W. G. and M. N. STANARD, *Colonial Virginia Register*, 1902, pp. 122, 124).

²Mr. Featherston says that he died in 1753, while Dr. Page states that Sarah Lynch was a widow when she joined the sect of the Quakers at the Cedar Creek meeting on April 16, 1750.

³C. LANMAN, *Biographical Annals of the Civil Government of the United States* (1887), p. 311. R. LOWRY and W. H. MCCARDLE assert that this Charles Lynch "was bred to the business of a merchant, and for a number of years he was a successful merchant in the ancient town of Monticello" (*History of Mississippi*, 1891, p. 278). The name of Charles Lynch does not occur in JAMES D. LYNCH's *Bench and Bar of Mississippi* (1881). Yet in 1880 J. F. H. CLAYBORNE said that in 1835 Mr. Plummer carried Gallatin County "for his friend, Judge Lynch, the opponent of Runnels" (*Mississippi*, Vol. I, p. 426). This shows how easily the title of "Judge" is attached to any man who bears the name of Lynch. In a message to the Mississippi legislature, GOVERNOR LYNCH said: "However we may regret the occasion, we are constrained to admit, that necessity will sometimes prompt a summary trial and punishment unknown to the law" (*Liberator*, April 30, September 24, 1836, Vol. VI, pp. 72/2, 155/2). It is perhaps singular that the commentators should not have associated Governor Lynch with lynch law.

⁴For allusions to Lynch's Ferry, see *Journal of the House of Delegates*, January 1, 1785, p. 102; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. IV, p. 1.

⁵W. G. and M. N. STANARD, *Colonial Virginia Register* (1902), pp. 180-206. Dr. Page says that Charles Lynch became a burgess in 1767, but this is an error for 1769.

⁶J. BURE, *History of Virginia* (1805), Vol. III, p. 349.

County;¹ in 1777 he sat for Bedford County in the House of Delegates;² during and after the revolution he was employed at the lead mines and in the manufacture of saltpetre;³ in 1781 he took part in the battle of Guildford Court House; in 1786 he was one of ten trustees appointed to establish the town of Lynchburg; and he died October 29, 1796.⁴

It is clear from this outline that Charles Lynch was a man of note in his local community, but in what has thus far been said there is nothing to warrant the association of his name with lynch law. There was, however, one episode in his career which perhaps justifies such an association. There is proof that in 1780 he illegally fined and imprisoned certain Tories.⁵ Had Charles

¹ DR. PAGE writes: "We find, in 1778, that the court of Bedford 'doth recommend to his Excellency, the Governor, Charles Lynch as a suitable Person to exercise the Office of Colonel of Militia in this County.'" This would seem to be an error, as, under dates of November 7, 1775, and January 14, 1777, these entries are found: "Lynch, Colo. Charles, Waggon hire, Diets, &c., to Bedford Militia, 62.13.-. . . Lynch, Col. Charles, for sundry Persons, Acco^d, 1069.7.8" (*Virginia Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 235, 419).

² *Journal of the House of Delegates*, October 22, 1777, p. 3. Charles Lynch was apparently not a member after this session.

³ *Journal of the House of Delegates*, November 17, 1779, pp. 60, 61; November 16, 1780, p. 19; *Calendar of Virginia State Papers*, Vol. IV, pp. 28, 372, 394; Vol. V, p. 108.

⁴ This account of Charles Lynch is largely taken from Dr. T. W. PAGE's admirable article on "The Real Judge Lynch" in the *Atlantic Monthly* for December, 1901, Vol. LXXXVIII, pp. 731-43, and from Mr. H. C. FEATHERSTON's article on "The Origin of Lynch Law" in the *Green Bag* for March, 1900, Vol. XII, pp. 150-58. Dr. Page assumes but does not prove the connection between Charles Lynch and lynch law. I am indebted to Dr. J. E. CUTLER for calling my attention to Mr. Featherston's article. The statements of Dr. Page and of Mr. Featherston are somewhat at variance, and, in such cases, as neither is apt to give his authority, it is impossible to determine which is correct. Allusions to Charles Lynch will also be found in the following works: B. TARLETON, *History of the Campaigns of 1790 and 1781* (1781), p. 272; C. STEDMAN, *History of the American War* (1794), Vol. II, p. 338; H. LEE, *Memoirs of the War* (1812), Vol. I, pp. 330, 341, 345; C. CALDWELL, *Memoirs of N. Greene* (1819), p. 233; W. JOHNSON, *Sketches of N. Greene* (1822), Vol. II, p. 3; W. G. SIMMS, *Life of N. Greene* (1858), p. 186; G. W. GREENE, *Life of N. Greene* (1871), Vol. III, pp. 184, 196; F. V. GREENE, *General Greene* (1893), pp. 213, 217, 219, 220; *Virginia Magazine*, Vol. X, pp. 296, 297; T. JEFFERSON, *Writings* (ed. FORD), Vol. II, p. 487.

Mr. Featherston says: "Under his [Charles Lynch's] direction, suspected persons were arrested and brought to his house, where they were tried by a court composed of himself, and the gentlemen above named [W. Preston, R. Adams, Jr., J. Callaway] the latter sitting as associate justices. From this circumstance he was afterwards often called 'Judge Lynch.'" Charles Lynch may have been called "Judge" by his contemporaries, but as yet no proof of the fact has been adduced. The only title I have found given him by his contemporaries is that of "Colonel."

⁵ On December 2 and 20, 1780, a petition was presented and considered from Harry Terrill, representing that "in the month of September last, he received orders from the commanding officer of Bedford county to summon a guard for the purpose of conveying to the public jail, a number of men on suspicion of treason," and praying for a farther allowance (*Journal of the House of Delegates*, pp. 35, 36, 60). On November 21, 1780, John Meade-jailer of Bedford County, presented a petition asking for compensation "for the main-tenance of prisoners confined in the said jail." On December 5 "Mr. Richard Lee reported

Lynch been the only person who resorted to illegal acts in dealing with Tories, there might be strong presumptive evidence that to his connection with such illegal acts we owe the term lynch law. But the fact is that many others were equally concerned in such illegal acts. In 1777 "the Governour and Council, and others" were indemnified "for removing and confining Suspected Persons during the late publick danger."¹ In 1779 "William Campbell, Walter Crockett, and others" were indemnified for illegal acts committed "in suppressing a late conspiracy."² In 1782 "William Preston, Robert Adams, junior, James Callaway, and Charles Lynch, and other faithful citizens" were indemnified for measures (taken in suppressing a conspiracy in 1780) not "strictly warranted by law, although justifiable from the immi-

. . . as followeth: It appears to your committee, that during the last summer, there were committed to the petitioner's care as keeper of the jail of the county of Bedford, the following persons, as well on suspicion of treasonable practices against the State, as other offences, to wit: . . . It also appears to your committee, that the said persons remained in the petitioner's custody and keeping, the term of eighteen days, during which time they were furnished with good and wholesome food, to procure which put the petitioner to great expense and trouble. . . . It also appears to your committee, that upon application being made to the auditors of public accounts, for a warrant for the amount of the said account, they refused to grant the same; and would only allow the petitioner the ordinary fees for criminals." Meade was allowed £8,480, but on December 21 this was cut down to £5,400. (*Journal*, pp. 23, 37, 38, 64.) Dr. PAGE writes: "Tradition says that Colonel Lynch was made aware of the conspirators' plans by one of their own number. He had them all arrested, and found among them some of the leading men of the county; two of them, indeed, Robert Cowan and Thomas Watts, had formerly been his fellow justices on the bench of the county court. . . . Robert Cowan, who seems to have been the ringleader, was sentenced to a year's imprisonment and a fine of £20,000." The persons who spent eighteen days under the care of Meade were seventy-five in number, their names are given in the *Journal* (pp. 37, 38), and among them were Robert Cowan and Thomas Watts. Dr. Page and others write as if Charles Lynch was solely responsible for the arrest and illegal punishment of these Tories, but this is a mistake.

¹ HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. IX, pp. 373, 374. The preamble recites: "WHEREAS, on the late appearance of a hostile fleet in the bay of Chesapeake, . . . it become [*sic*] necessary for the governour and council, for the publick safety, to remove and restrain, during the imminence of the danger, . . . certain persons whose affections to the American cause were suspected, . . . and it may happen that some of the said persons so removed and restrained may be disposed to vex with actions at law those who were concerned in advising, issuing, or executing the orders for that purpose," etc.

² On October 22, 1779, it was "Resolved, That William Campbell, Walter Crockett, and others, concerned in suppressing a late conspiracy and insurrection on the frontiers of this State, ought to be indemnified for any proceedings therein not warranted by law" (*Journal of the House of Delegates*, p. 21). A bill was presented by Thomas Nelson, Jr., and under dates of November 28, 27, December 11, 13, 15, 18, the bare facts are recorded in the *Journal*, pp. 71, 72, 85, 87, 90, 97. In the act itself it was recited that "the necessary measures taken for that purpose may not be strictly warranted by law, although justifiable from the immediate urgency and imminence of the danger," etc. (HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. X, p. 195). It may be added that Walter Crockett was a member of this legislature for Montgomery County (*Journal*, p. 4).

nence of the danger."¹ In 1784 all persons were indemnified who committed "any insult or injury against the person of a certain Joseph Williamson" on October 10, 1783, "which was previous to the ratification of the definitive treaty between Great Britain and America."² It is seen, then, not only that Charles Lynch was one of many who resorted to illegal proceedings, but that it was not he who "set the first example" of such proceedings.³

Wherever we find a term containing a proper name, there seems to be an ineradicable tendency in the popular mind to explain the term by referring it to some person or thing of the same name. *Uncle Sam*, *Brother Jonathan*, and other examples of this process will readily occur to the reader. To this tendency we may without hesitation attribute the dragging in of James Lynch of Galway, of Stephen Lynch of Jamaica, and of other real or imaginary persons named Lynch. With Charles Lynch of Virginia, however, the case is different. The accessible facts have been given in this paper, and each reader will draw his own conclusions. Charles Lynch was one of many, and by no means the first, who committed illegal acts against the Tories,⁴ and for sixty

¹ HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. XI, pp. 134, 135. The wording of the act follows closely that of 1779. The bill was presented by J. Talbot, November 29, 1782, and allusions to it will be found under dates of November 25, 29, 30, December 2, 4, 24, in the *Journal of the House of Delegates*, pp. 36, 43, 45, 47, 52, 79. Dr. Page says: "To avoid the trouble of a lawsuit, Lynch had the matter brought up before the legislature, of which he was still a member." This is an error, for Charles Lynch was not a member at that time. John Talbot and Robert Clarke were the members for Bedford County, and Robert Adams, Jr., and William Brown for Campbell County (*Journal*, p. 4).

In his *North Carolina, 1790-81*, 1889, p. 310, D. SCHENCK wrote: "In Judge Lynch's court there generally sat as associates Robert Adams and James Calloway, and an old song commemorating their judgments ran thus:

'Hurrah for Colonel Lynch, Captain Bob and Calloway,
They never turned a Tory loose
Until he shouted liberty.'

This song clearly points to the measures of 1780, but there is in it no suggestion of the term lynch law.

² HENING, *Virginia Statutes*, Vol. XI, p. 373. It seems fair to assume that this Williamson was a Tory. On May 30, 1783, Arthur Lee presented a bill "to indemnify all officers of the army of the United States, and others, for acts necessarily done in execution of military orders" (*Journal of the House of Delegates*, p. 27).

³ If the practice of lynch law had its origin in the measures taken to suppress Tories, we should logically expect such a term as "Campbell's law" or "Crockett's law" rather than "Lynch's law." Nevertheless, as logic often plays an unimportant part in the springing up of new words and phrases, it may be that in these illegal acts against the Tories the true origin of the term lynch law is to be found.

⁴ That, as has frequently been stated, Charles Lynch illegally punished desperadoes, may be true; but as yet no proof has been adduced.

years he has been generally regarded as the person from whom the term lynch law took its name. On the other hand, the term itself is not known to have been in existence until 1817, or twenty-one years after the death of Charles Lynch;¹ not until 1842, or forty-six years after his death, were his name and lynch law associated together; and there is no contemporary evidence connecting Charles Lynch with lynch law.² In the opinion of the present writer, so far as Charles Lynch is concerned, the Scotch verdict of "not proven" must be rendered; and the true origin of the term lynch law has yet to be determined.

ALBERT MATTHEWS.

BOSTON.

¹Writing a quarter of a century after the event, Judge Roane spoke of suits which were brought in 1792. Granting that his memory was good and that such suits were brought, it by no means follows that the term Lynch's law was known in 1792. In short, it has yet to be proved that the term was in existence in the lifetime of Charles Lynch. An attempt on the part of the present writer to obtain further information in regard to these suits has proved fruitless.

²John Lynch (the founder of Lynchburg) died October 31, 1821, and Capt. John Lynch (a son of Charles Lynch) died in 1840. Contemporary obituary notices of these two were given by Mrs. CABELL in her *Sketches and Recollections of Lynchburg*, pp. 13, 17, but there is in them no allusion to lynch law. Could an obituary notice of Charles Lynch be found, it might yield some pertinent facts; but my search for Lynchburg newspapers of 1796 has been unsuccessful, and in other Virginia papers of that date I have not found a notice of Charles Lynch.

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THE SPANISH PARTICLE *HE*.

THE following observations are in the main intended to contribute to our knowledge of the Spanish language previous to the middle of the seventeenth century.

Similar to *he* in sense and syntax are *e*, *ahē*, *ae*, *fe*, *afe*.

A. *HE*.

1. Diez, *Et. Wb.*⁴, p. 458 s. v. *He*, observes: "*He* in *he-me*, *he-te* . . . sp. adverb, sieh, *ecce*; statt *fe-me* u. s. f. und dies aus *ve-me* = lat. *vide me*. . . ." The semasiological side of this etymology is unimpeachable, but not so the phonetic side. For as Mod. *h-* does not necessarily proceed from *f-*, it was to be proved and not to be taken for granted that *he* is later than *fe*. Judging merely from the evidence of the MSS, just the opposite is the case. *He* occurs already in a MS of the beginning of the thirteenth century (*Reyes Magos*), *he*, *e*, *ahē* appear in a MS of the last third of the same century (*Est. God.*), while *fe*, *afe* are found for the first time in a MS of the beginning of the fourteenth century (*P. Cid*). I shall admit the objection that in the latter case the spelling of the scribe may be that of the author, which would make *fe* a form of the last quarter of the twelfth century.¹ I shall not yield, however, to the objection that the MS of the *Reyes Magos* reads vss. 12 *prohio*, 26 *hata*, 116 *ata*, and that vs. 127 *he* likewise presupposes an earlier *fe*. As for *prohio*, the history of medial *f* in compounds seems as obscure as that of initial *f* of other than Lat. origin, and, after all, we are in this case not dealing with initial *f*. *Ata* (instanced very early, cf. F. Avilés 9) seems to me an earlier form than *fata*; cf. also Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, p. 365. At any rate, I insist that *he*, of uncertain etymology, may be just as well a primary form. Such an opinion is supported by the fact that *he*, *e*, *ahē* are used

¹ BAIST in GROEBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 397, dates the *P. Cid* "um die Mitte des 12. Jhs. oder kurz nach ihr." I cannot agree with him. Cf. BAIST, op. cit., p. 388, and BEEBE, *Überlieferung asp. Literaturdenkmäler*, 1898, p. 28.

exclusively in some of the earliest texts, e. g., *Est. God.*, Berceo, and that *he*, *e*, *ahe* are altogether too numerous before the end of the fourteenth century¹—my collectanea show forty-five forms with or without *h* over against forty-two forms with *f*—to be accidental spellings of *fe*, *afe*. Now, it is very remarkable that, of the *f*-forms, *afe* is almost limited to the *P. Cid* (only two out of twenty-three cases occur elsewhere; cf. p. 26), and *fe* is found about as many times in the *P. Cid* as in all the other texts together (eight times out of eighteen, cf. p. 25). The difference between *he* and *fe* is therefore one of dialect,² and not one of chronology.

Further, *fe* < *ve* is not utterly impossible, but should be resorted to only after all other attempts at a more satisfactory etymology have failed. Of the Span. instances of initial *f* < *v*³ given by Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 236 (= ³Vol. I, p. 288), *fisca* (?)—*hisca* has been eliminated by Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, Vol. III, p. 462; *fampa* (?) (not known to Hidalgo—in Mier, *Orígenes*—nor to Covarrubias (1673), Salvá¹¹, the Dict. of the Academy¹³)—*hampa* (also *ampa*, e. g., Nov. ej., p. 97; Quevedo, Vol. III, p. 116b) is a *Germania*-word; finally, *femencia*—*hemencia* may be a case of popular etymology (influence of *fe*, *fementido*).⁴ As for Lat. *fitiatus* for *vitiatus* Samsonis Abbatis Cordub. Apologeticus Lib. II, cap. viii. —*Esp. Sagr.*, Vol. XI², p. 412 (referred to by Diez, loc. cit.); *fi* for *vi* Flor. Dig. XVIII, vi, 9 and other examples in Schuchardt, *Vokal. d. Vulgarl.*, Vol. I, p. 183; Sp. *Fanegas* for *Vanegas* S. Teresa, Vol. II, p. 80a; *fisitas* for *visitas* p. 273b, granted they are mispronunciations, are those of individuals and not of com-

¹ Cf. BAIST, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, pp. 351, 381.

² According to Cornu (cf. BAIST in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. II, 2, p. 397 n. 3) and LIDFORS, *Los Cantares de Myo Cid*, p. vii, the dialect of the *P. Cid* is Asturian.

³ Final *e* after *v* is sometimes dropped contrary to the rule. Final *v* then generally becomes *f*: *P. Cid* 40 *nuef*. FÉROTIN, p. 234 (1260) *claf*. Jonas [1, 3] (MS Esc. I. j. 6—first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *naf*. Act. 28, 11 (same MS—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 399) *naf* (but S. TERESA, Vol. I, p. 486b *nav*). J. RUIZ 671 *nief*.

In the same way final *v* (= *b*) > *f*: *P. Cid* 3320 *off* < *ove*. 3321 *of*.

In *ahuelo* Corvacho, p. 128 (V. L. *avuelo*); J. RODRÍGUEZ, pp. 224, 232; LUCAS FERNÁNDEZ, pp. 9, 202; *ahuela* J. RODRÍGUEZ, p. 224, *h* does not represent intervocalic *v*, but is epenthetic. *Avuelo*—*auuelo*—*auelo* (cf. J. RODRÍGUEZ, p. 232 *avelo*)—*ahuelo*.

In *hueco*, if from *vocuu* (Cornu in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 767), *h* is prosthetic.

⁴ Especially, if the Latin basis was *vementia* and not *vehementia*. A rather late example of the first is given by DUCANGE (Favre), s. v.; better attested is *vemens* GEORGES, *Lex. d. lat. Wortf.*, s. v. *vehemens*. A different view will be found in MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. I, § 427. Cf. also CORNU in GRÖBER's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 766.

munities. They show, however, that the possibility of *f*-<*v*- cannot be denied.

2. Ascoli, *Arch. glott.*, Vol. X, p. 7 n., expresses his opinion about the etymology of *he* as follows:

He è nella sua più antica forma: *afé*. . . . Vi veggo io un' affermazione sacramentale che si è ridotta a mera espressione resolutiva o eccitativa (cfr. il lat. *hercle* o l' it. *gnáffe* = *mia fé*): *affé* che vengo = eccomi pronto a venire.

Ascoli, therefore, connects the *afe* of the *P. Cid*, for there it appears earliest, with *fe* < *fide*. The original meaning of *afe* then would be *profecto*, i' *faith*.

Unfortunately an *afe* (generally *a fe*) = *profecto* is not found until Encina, cf. p. 5, in other words, three centuries after the *P. Cid*. The usual form before this time is *a la fe*, thus Alex. 320 (+1); 596 (*A la fet*); J. Ruiz 743; 768; 873; 1328; 1494; 1623; (with the latter also *ala he*: 930; 961; 1492); Lucanor, p. 160. The *afe* of the *P. Cid*, however, means, no doubt, *ecce* and is a dialectal form of *ahe*.

A construction like the one mentioned by Ascoli, i. e., *a fe* (!) followed by *que*¹ and a finite verb and meaning *profecto* is very frequently met with since Encina; e. g., Encina, p. 288 *Á fé que es bella!* Diego Sanchez, Vol. I, p. 91 *Mas si culpa ella tenta, Á fe que bien lo pagó*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 9, 217 *A fee, que no seria malo!* Vol. II, p. 268, 125 *A fee, que tal no estara*. Vol. III, p. 224, 346 Ypocresia. *Hija, soy la Ypocresia*. Alma. *A fe, que lo paresceis*. D. Quix. II, 40 *pues a fê que no teneis razon*. Tirso, p. 64c *¿A fe que se casaria?* Before this time I know of *afe* (!) *que* only in the *P. Cid*: vs. 2140 *Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz,"* and three other instances, cf. p. 27. But though the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* and the *á fé que* of Encina resemble each other very much, I cannot believe that they are of the same meaning and origin. The total lack of *afe* = *profecto* in the *P. Cid* as well as in early literature is decidedly against the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* = *profecto*. On the other hand, during all the time I have no trace of *afe que*, I find *he que*, *ahe que* translating *ecce* (a) and *en* (b):

¹ Cf. TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. I², p. 57.

a) Is. 7, 14¹ *Ecce virgo concipiet, et pariet filium.* MS Esc. I. j. 6 (first half of fourteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *He que concibra una virgen e parra fijo.* MS Esc. I. j. 4 (fourteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 406) *Ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo.* Biblia Alba,² p. 25 *ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo.*

Cant. 1, 14³ *Ecce, tu pulchra es, amica mea, ecce tu pulchra es, oculi tui columbarum.* 15 *Ecce, tu pulcher es, dilecte mi* Biblia Alba, p. 43 *ahe que tu hermosa eres, la mi querida, ahe que tu hermosa tu eres e los tus ojos palomos: ahe que tu eres hermoso, el mi querido*

Cant. 2, 8⁴ *Vox dilecti mei, ecce, iste venit saliens in montibus.* Hohelied, p. 2 *Voz del mio amigo. he que este viene saliendo los oteros.*

b) Cant. 2, 9⁵ *En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum.* Hohelied, p. 2 *he que el esta tras nuestra paret.*

Cant. 3, 7⁶ *En, lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel.* Biblia Alba, p. 44 *ahe que la su cama de salomon sesenta barraganes la circundan de los fortissimos de israel.*

The MS containing the *Hohelied*, Esc. I. j. 6, is dated by Berger, *Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 560, from the first half of the fourteenth century, the language itself by Cornu from the thirteenth century. Under the circumstances, it will be safe to conclude that the *afe que* of *P. Cid* means *ecce* and is a dialectal form of *ahe que*.

¹Cf. MS Esc. Y. j. 8 (fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 380) *Evad, que concebira virgen y parira fijo.* MS Esc. I. j. 3 (fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 514) *Ahe la virgen prennada e parira fijo.* Biblia Ferr. (1553—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 539) *he la alma concibien* (cf. MENÉNDEZ PIDAL, *Poema de Yúcaf*, 1902, p. 41 § 4) *y parien hijo.* Biblia Ferr. (Ed. of Vienna, 1832—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 539 n. 2) *He la moça ençentada y parira h.*

²I see no reason why Mosé Arragel, in this and the following quotations, should have deviated from the Latin text, but I have no means of controlling the matter. Cf. BERGER, *Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 523.

³Cf. Hohelied, p. 2 *O que hermosa eres mi amiga o que hermosa. los oios de palomas. 15 O que hermoso eres mio amigo.*

⁴Cf. Biblia Alba, p. 43 *la voz del mi querido es este que viene, que salta sobre los montes.* Paraphrasia caldaica; En los cantares de Selomoh, Anno 5424=1664 (GRÜNBAUM, p. 30) *Boz de mi querido, he este vinien: saltan sobre los Montes.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 32) *Voz de mi amado, he lo viene atravancando por los montes.*

⁵Cf. Biblia Alba, p. 43 *este es el que esta tras la nuestra paret.* Paraph. cald. (GRÜNBAUM, p. 30) *he este están detras de nuestra pared.* LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 32) *He lo . . . tras nuestra pared.*

⁶Cf. Hohelied, p. 3 *El lecho de Salomon. sesenta arzeziados le guardan de los mas fuertes de Israel.*

It is also clear that, if *afe* and *á fé que* = *profecto* (< Lat. *fide*) cannot be found before Encina, the *afe* and *afe que* = *ecce* of the *P. Cid* must have some other origin than Lat. *fide*.

Even if earlier instances of *afe* = *profecto* could be adduced, and it could be made probable that the *afe que* of the *P. Cid* means *profecto*, i' *faith*—the line between *ecce* and *profecto* in this case is, I admit, difficult to draw—even then I should doubt whether the *afe* = *ecce* of the *P. Cid* has anything to do with *afe* = *profecto*, i. e., with *fe* < *fide*. For *afe* = *profecto* differs entirely in syntax from *afe* = *ecce*. *Afe* = *profecto*, as a rule, appears in sentences with a finite verb; *afe* = *ecce* I know only in sentences without a finite verb. *Afe* = *profecto* serves to modify all kinds of sentences, including negative and interrogative sentences: Encina (*Antologia*, Vol. VII, p. 28) *Ni yo soy tan bouo afé, Que no sé* Autos, Vol. I, p. 341, 310 *No lo hiziera yo, a fee*. Salamantina 901 *Pues, a fe, no la* (sc. la morzilla) *lleueys*. Autos, Vol. II, p. 55, 194 *Mas, a fee, no soy hermosa?* Vol. III, p. 185, 154 *Que no me conoçe, a fee?* *Afe* = *ecce* is restricted to positive, declarative sentences. *Afe* = *profecto* is never followed by a pronoun or noun in the acc., nor does Italian or any other Romance or Germanic language offer an analogon. Yet this is the primary and prevailing use of *afe* = *ecce*. *Afe* = *profecto* is never accompanied by an ethical dative of a pronoun of the 2. pers., while *afe* = *ecce* frequently is.

Finally, I reject *afe* = *profecto* as the source of *he* = *ecce* for the further reason that neither in Italian nor in Spanish such an *afe* has become merely *fe*. In Spanish we find in dialectal and popular use *a he*: Lucas Fernandez, p. 18 *Dilo, dilo, dilo á hé*; Autos, Vol. III, p. 314, 548 *Cata, cata, digo, a he, que*, but not *he*. And it exists still as *a fe*.

3. Ford, following a suggestion of Bello (in his edition of the *P. Cid*, p. 350,—*hé* < *fé* < *afé* < *habete*) has tried, in this journal, Vol. I, pp. 49–53, to put the latter etymology on a scientific basis. His own words (p. 51) are:

If . . . with Ascoli and Bello we believe that *afe* was an earlier form than *fe*, and if we assume, as the facts adduced may indicate,¹ that

¹ Refers to Ford's restoration of *afeuos* for *afe* in a number of "imperfect" hemistichs

afe was in the inception accompanied by *uos*, which was first dropped, perhaps, in the more rapid interjectional use, then we may be safe in deriving the form from *habete plus vos* (a). From this would come (*h*)*abedvos*, of which the *h* was phonetically valueless, the *b* not distinguishable in value from the *v*, and the combination *dv* one that could not long persist (b). We see a partial assimilation of the *d* in the *auello* of [Cid] 496 (c); it is completely assimilated, that is absorbed, in the *Crónica rimada*, vs. 345: Rey, dueña so lasrada, ð *avéme* piedat (d). Before the retained *v* of Old Spanish *vos*, we may suppose a disappearance of the *d* similar to that in *avéme*. Then, by a process of dissimilation in the resulting *averos* we should obtain the form *afevos* (e) and with a dropping of the *vos*, which still retained its identity, we should have the independent *afe*.

My objections to this theory are the following:

The semasiological part of the etymology is not discussed at all.

a) Even if we base our consideration wholly on the *P. Cid*, the primary use of *afe* in the form *afeuos* is not free from doubt. Over against nine instances of *afeuos* in the MS (152. 262. 476. 1255. 1431. 1499. 1568. 2230. 2368), we have twelve of *afe* without *uos* (505. 1317. 1597. 2088. 2101. 2135. 2175. 2222. 2381. 2947. 3393. 3407). In order to change¹ in three of the latter instances (2175. 2222. 3393) *afe* to *afeuos*, Ford avails himself of the opinion that the verse of the *P. Cid* is the *verso de romance*. But, in the first place, this is still a matter of discussion. In the second place, if a change is to be made, it must not needs be that of *afe* to *afeuos* (cf. for vs. 2222, Cornu, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XXI, p. 502). For the same reason I decline to accept the change of *fe* to *afeuos* in vss. 1335. 1452. 2647. 3534. 3701.

b) The combination *dv* did persist. Cf., e. g., Cuervo, *Notas*², p. 108 and Gessner, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XVII, p. 4:

Bei *vos* [wenn es hinter den Imperativ tritt] lag für die Beseitigung des *d* kein Grund vor, und demnach ist *amadvos* die überall angetroffene Bildung, so lange überhaupt *vos* im Gebrauche blieb.²

It is unnecessary to give instances when, e. g., pp. 91-93 of *Boc. Oro* offer a dozen. Ford's etymology is, therefore, impossible.

c) As for the "partial assimilation" of the *d* in *P. Cid* 496

¹If the "imperfect" *afe*-lines were to be changed, why have not the imperfect *afevos*-lines (476. 1499. 2368) deserved the same treatment?

²Cf. GESSNER, loc. cit.: "Mit dem Beginn des 16. Jahrh. kann *vos* so ziemlich als erloschen gelten." He means, of course, the oblique case.

auello for which phenomenon Ford, p. 50 n. 2, refers to P. Cid 2136 *Prendellas con uestras manos e daldas alos yfantes* and Crón. rim. 375 *Al rey que vos servides, servillo muy sin arte*, Ford might have quoted also, e. g., P. Cid 887 *Honores e tierras auellas condonadas, Hyd e venit . . .* Bello, *Poema del Cid*, p. 316, in discussing *prendellas*, leaves the question open whether *ll < dl* or *< rl*, i. e., whether we are dealing with the form of the imper. or with that of the inf. Damas Hinard, *Poème du Cid*, pp. 38 n., 145 n., lxxxvii n., 63 n., sees in the first part of the combinations *auello*, *prendellas*, *servillo*, *auellas* the inf. and calls (p. 38 n.) the use of the inf. instead of the imper. a "licence grammaticale fort usitée au moyen âge, et dont nous retrouvons plus d'un exemple dans le Poème." Cuervo, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 261, says with regard to P. Cid 2136 *prendellas* and Alex. 920 *tenellos*: "asimilación extraña, si no es que deba tomarse como errata, *prendetlas*, *tenetlos*, ó como aplicación del infinitivo en sentido de imperativo." Lidforss, *Los Cantares de myo Cid*, p. 129, note to vss. 1356, 7, considers P. Cid 887 *auellas* = *avedlas*. So does Cornu, *Literaturbl.*, 1897, c. 331, note to vs. 1357. I myself have come to a *non liquet*.

We are not compelled to regard P. Cid 496 *auello* as resulting from *auedlo*. The inf. is, indeed, frequently employed for an imper., cf., e. g., Cuervo, *Notas*, p. 62, and *rl > ll* is common, cf. Cuervo, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 252. Nor must P. Cid 2136 *prendellas* presuppose *prendedlas* because it is co-ordinated with an imper. Cf. J. Ruiz 762 *señora, dexar* (sic) *duelo e faset el cabo de año*. Torres Naharro, Vol. II, p. 119 *Mas pagadme mi sol-dada Y dexar de castigar*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 430, 114 *y prended y maniatar (:)* *a quantos xpianos son*. Vol. III, pp. 443, 482 *Andad, y servir a Dios; y estad en la compañía de los vuestros padres dos*. 497, 425 *Yglesia, madre y señora, doleros de mi gran caída, y rremediad esta vida*.—S. Emper., p. 534, 52 *Tomat el salto: ó ledamente et de grado fazet todo nuestro talante, ó beber de la agua salgada*.

On the other hand, *auello* may be *auedlo*—*aueldo*, for apparently there are cases of *ld > ll*. *Alcalde*,¹ *alcall* has been pointed

¹ An instance of *alcalde* as early as the year 1125 will be found in FÉROTIN, p. 54.

out by Diez, *Et. Wb.*, p. 417 s. v. *Alcalde*; rollo by Baist in Gröber's *Grundr.*, Vol. I, p. 706, § 50. I would add *cabillo* and *humille*. Cf. for *cabillo*, Milagr. 310. 546. 552. 714; F. Juzgo, *Glos.*, s. v.; Férotin, *Index général*, s. v. (from documents dated 1317 and 1338). *Humille* is met with in Rim. Pal. 1331 *A los vmilles ensalça*; Biblia Alba, p. 67 *E al tu marido humille seras*; Iosaphat, p. 343 *sabedes a que cosas son estas semejables ? a los homilles, los quales eran cubiertos*. . . . More frequent is perhaps *humil*: J. Ruiz 463 *estando delante ella, sossegado e muy omyl(:)*. 1096 *Estaua delante del su alferes homil(:)*. Rim. Pal. 1192 *O el humil que es susio*. . . . Crón. D. Pedro, pp. 162 *con homil reverencia*, 163 *item*, 459 *con humil reverencia*. Corvacho, pp. 187 *Ihu Xpo, fijo de la humil, graciosa e abogada nuestra*. 302 *eres falsa, bygarda*, . . . *vmil aparte de fuera*. Valdés, *Didl. de la lengua* (Boehmer), p. 385, 18: "Humil por humilde se dize bien en verso, pero pareceria muy mal en prosa." *Humilmente* occurs Rim. Pal. 240 (1. *humilment*), 385, 631 (*vmilmente*), 1453, 1487 (*omilmente*), 1521, 1601 (*Vmilmente*), and still more often later, especially in poetry but also in prose: e. g., S. Juan de la Peña, p. 24; J. Rodríguez, pp. 215, 305. *Humillad* I find once Iosaphat, p. 351.—In *humille*, *humillar* may not have been without influence, as in *humil*, *fácil*.

d) Concerning the "complete assimilation" of *d* to *m* in Crón. rim. 345 *avéme piedat*, I believe it to be impossible. Loss of *-d*,¹ however, is extremely improbable for the Crón. rim. I find in the poem a great number of imperatives in *-d* (*-t*), but no case of loss of *-d*. The difficulty is easily solved, if we read with the MS and Duran (against Michel and Damas Hinard) *aueme*; or, if an accent is thought necessary, *dueme*.

The early existence of *ave* is assured.²

¹ For the loss of inflectional *-d*, BELLO, *Gram.*, § 614, gives instances from the classics. VALDÉS, *Didl. de la leng.*, p. 369, rejects the apocopated forms. They are already frequent in the early dramatists (Encina, etc.), the apocope affecting here also the nouns in *-d*.

² To the instances of *ave* earlier than the sixteenth century, given in my *Prelim. Notes* on . . . the *Disticha Catonis*, n. 16, I would add: Est. God., p. 42 *et perdona á los que tú quisieres, et ave dolor de la tierra*. SANCHE IV, pp. 125a *Habe paciencia en tí*. 176b *E cree en Dios que es sobre todo, é habe buena fianza en él*. 187a *é piensa siempre de las aventuras que pueden acaescer, é habe providencia en las cosas de aventura*. 216a *Aremiémbrate, Señora, del servicio que en algund tiempo te fice, é habe merced de mí*. 221b *Habe misericordia de mí, fijo de David*. PLACIDAS, p. 155 *ayúdales e ave dellos merced*. Rrey Guill., p. 188

The fact that an inferior might address the king by *tu* is attested, e. g., by Crón. rim. 466 "*Cata*," dixo (sc. Rodrigo), "*buen rey, que te trayo, magüera non so tu vassallo: de cinco lides que te prometi el dia que tú me oviste desposado, vencido he la una . . .*" 500 Sopol el conde . . . e fuésse para el rey: "*Señor, pessete del tu daño; Calahora e Tudela forçada te la ha el buen rey don Fernando . . .*" 625 Dixo (sc. Rodrigo): "*Rey, mucho me plase, porque non so tu vassallo. Rey, fasta que non te armasses, non devias tener reynado; ca non esperas palmada de moros nin de christianos; mas ve velar al padron de Santiago . . .*"

It is true that Ximena Gomez later (vss. 349 ff.) in speaking to the king uses the *plur. rev.* But change from *tu* to *vos* and *vice versa* is not rare.¹ Cf. Crón. rim. 570 "*¿Dormides, Rodrigo de Bivar? tiempo has de ser acordado . . .*" 864 Vey la seña sin engaño, que en tal lugar vos la pondré antes del sol cerrado, do . . . 953 e dixo (sc. el rey): "*Rodrigo, pues en mill e novecientos fesistes grand daño, de los tuyos ¿quanto (!) te fincaron, sy a Dios ayas pagado?*" Further, P. Cid 409 Mientra que visquieredes bien se fara lo to (in assonance). Maria Eg., p. 317b Senyor, diz, tornat uos ent. Agora me quiero partir de ti, Por Dios te ruego hora por mí. Boc. Oro, p. 68 e preguntole: "*Dime, omne bueno, si Dios te salve, esta tierra*

omne bueno, por Dios, ave mercet. Rim. Pal. 84 E Sennor piadoes ave merced de mí. CLIM. SANCHE. (Morel-Fatio), p. 518 Ves aquí, este omne te do por el e ave piedad de mí. Id. (Gayangos), pp. 447b Señor Dios, habe misericordia et sálvame. 479b é habe misericordia de mí como yo hobe de tí. Ibid. ¡Oh, señor hermano, por Dios habe agora misericordia de mí . . . ! 480b Habe paciencia fasta que yo te dé venganza. Iosaphat, p. 350 Pues asy es, ave fynzia, mucho amado, e non te entristezcas. Iosep, fo. 275 vo. sennor dios, ave mercet a este peccador. Corvacho, p. 252 Señor, ave merced de mí segund la Tu grand misericordia. J. RODRIGUEZ, pp. 207 No lo hagas asy, y ave ya, sy quiera cobdicioso, nombre de amante. 221 ave merced dela tu donzella. Finally LEBBIA who, in his Grammar (1492—VÍÑAZA, c. 437), under Imperativo en el presente writes: Ave tu. aia alguno. aiamos. aved. aian.

Here I may cite also the instances I have noted of *aved* previous to the fourteenth century: P. Cid 3600 Aued uestro derecho, tuerto non querades vos. Alex. 1449 Aued uestro conseio. S. Dom. 496 Aved unos con otros amor e caridat. Sacr. 75 dormit, avel folgura. 83 Avello por iantar, esperat la merienda. App. 193 avel-lo atorgado. S. Ildef., p. 321a Madre de tu (l. su) alma habet le cuidado. Later instances need not be quoted. In J. Ruiz alone *aved* occurs at least six times (668. 703. 822. 880. 889. 892).

¹ Cf. EHRESMANN, "Duzen und Ihrzen im Mittelalter," Zeitschr. f. deutsche Wortforsch., Vols. I, II, IV, V; SUCHIER, Denkmäler, p. 535; COHN, Zeitschr. f. franz. Sprache, Vol. XXV, 2 p. 163; BERNHARDT, "Über du und ir bei Wolfram von Eschenbach, Hartmann von Aue, Gottfried von Strassburg, und über tu und vos in den entsprechenden altfranzösischen Gedichten," Zeitschr. f. deutsche Phil., Vol. XXXIII, p. 380, and the literature referred to in these articles.

en que morades (V. L. moras) ¿en qual de las partidas del mundo es ?” Crón. gen. M., p. 238, 4 et dixol (sc. la mora): “esforçad, sennor don Gonçaluo, et dexad de llorar et de auer pesar en uos, ca yo otrossi oue doze fijos . . . , et assi fue por uentura que todos doze me los mataron . . . , mas pero non dexe por ende de conortarme et de esforçarme; et pues yo, que so mugier, me esforce, . . . [10] ¿quanto mas lo deues fazer tu, que eres uaron? . . .” Florençia, pp. 440 Dios, dixo ella, por la vuestra grant virtud que uos vengastes de Lucifer, el traydor que sse uos quiso egualar en parayso, et lo derribastes de allá ssuso con cuantos se con él touieron, que ante eran ángeles et fueron perdidos: glorioso rey espiritual, tú que te asy vengaste, non sufras que . . . 461 ¿Cómo, hermano, dixo Macayre, tú dizes que á Belrepaire vá tan grant gente de dolientes, et que y todos guareçen? . . . ¿Dezideslo por escarnio? Merlin, fo. 292 ro. (Merlin to the judge) e yo te lo prouare e dexa mi madre estar en paz e bien sepades que non ha culpa. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 264 Por Dios te ruego, el obispo, que no pasedes el vado. D. Quix. I, 30 Pues no lo penseys, vellaco descomulgado, que sin duda lo estas, pues has puesto lengua en la sin par Dulzinea. Y no sabeys vos, gañan, faquin, belitre, que ?

If it was intentionally that the poet in Crón. rim. 345 *aveme piedat* used the address in the sing., it may have been his purpose to reflect the emotion of the speaker. “*Leidenschaftliche, bewegte rede achtet der sitte nicht, und entzieht bald traulichs du, bald höffiches ir*” (J. Grimm, *Gramm.*, Vol. IV¹, p. 306).

e) A dissimilation $v-v > f-v$ is nowhere else alleged. Grammont, *La dissimilation consonantique*, mentions no case. G. Paris, *Journ. des Savants*, 1898, p. 82 n., quotes two (Old.) Fr. and Prov. instances, but they are of the kind $v-v > v-()$, i. e., the dissimilation is progressive and results in the suppression of the second sound.

4. Of Spanish grammars, e. g., those of Bello⁶, § 581,¹ and of Salvá¹², p. 76, have treated *he* (*he aquí*) as the imper. sing. of *haber*. Such seems to be also the opinion of Meyer-Lübke,

¹ CUERVO, however, in his *Notas*, p. 87, denies the existence of any connection between *he* and *haber*.

Gramm., Vol. II, § 242. After having considered carefully, as I believe, some other possibilities and having hesitated for a long time between Old French *hé, hai* (cf. Godefroy, *Dict.*, Vols. III, pp. 334 b, 335 a, b, IX, p. 751 b) and the etymon advocated by the Spaniards, I have finally decided for the latter. I start from a situation like the following:

A. *Dame el espada.*

B. *Hela.*

Hela = "have it, take it,¹ see it there,² there it is." The occasional meaning "see (it) there" became the usual meaning; very likely in order to differentiate *he* from *ave*. However that may be, a number of analoga, imperatives or subjunctives (cf. Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 916 = Vol. III, p. 210³) of verbs signifying "to have, to hold, to take," which have all developed the meaning of *he* = *ecce*, prove to me that the semasiological part of the etymology is well supported. I compare:

Sp. *evas* < *habeas*; *evades* < *habeatis*.

Sp. *avad* < **avades* < **habatis*.

Germ. *hei, heits*. Cf. Schmeller, *Bayer. Wörterb.* (Frommann), Vol. I, c. 1028: "hei! heits! (o. pf.; hê, hêts, b. W.) nimm! nehmet! franz. *tiens! tenez!* Vermuthlich der Imperativ von haben; s. *Gramm.* 954 . . ."

Further: Fr. *tiens; tenez*. Cf. *Dict. gén.*, s. v. *Tenir*, I. 1^o: "Pour avertir de prendre garde à ce qu'on dit. Tenez, le voilà qui vient. Tiens! c'est vous!"

It. *tieni*. Cf. Petrocchi, *Novo Diz. univ.*, 1891, s. v. *Tenere*: "§ imperat. . . . offrendo: Tieni la penna. Tenete il vostro onorario. Tieni un bacio. . . ." Michaelis, *Diz.*,² s. v. *Tenere*: "tieni, nimm! hier! da!"—*te'*. Vockeradt, *Lehrbuch*, § 139, 4: "*te'* (gekürzt aus *tieni*) da nimm."

E. *behold*. "To behold" was used in the sense of "to have, to hold" as late as 1525: Ld. Berners *Froiss.* II. lxiv. [lxix] 222 Every man behelde the same oppynyon (Murray, *Dict.*, s. v.).

¹ Cf. LOTTNER in KUHN's *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XI, p. 203: "Man weiss aus dem slavischen, wie nahe sich 'haben' und 'nehmen' berühren (altsl. *imā* ich nehme, *imamī* ich habe)." Also GRIMM, *Wörterb.*, Vol. IV, 2, cc. 56: "habe dank, drückt aus 'nimm dank an, empfang' dank' . . . " 57: "nhd. hab dirs, nimm für dich hin, *habe tibi*, Maaler 203b."

² For "to take" > "to see," cf., e. g., *percibir*, (*comprender*), *catar*.

³ The subjunct. of the 2. pers. was used in Old Sp. instead of the positive imper. to a larger extent than one would conclude from Diez.

Germ. *halt*. Cf. Heyne, *Deutsches Wörterb.*, s. v. *Halten*, 4: "halt, wer kommt da? . . ."

Finally: Lat. *em*. Cf. Lindsay, *The Latin Language*, pp. 617: "*Em* . . . seems to be the Imperative of *ēmo*, lit. 'take,' a sense which suits well in phrases like *em tibi*, 'take that!' 'there's for you!' (in giving a blow) . . ." 600. 518.¹

Em I consider the most valuable analogon, not only with regard to form and semasiology, but also, to a large extent, with regard to syntax.

Sp. *toma*. Especially in *tómate ésa = em tibi*.

It. *to'* (from *togli*). Cf. Petrocchi, s. v.: "To' e Toh! § escl. di maraviglia. To' chi ci trovo? O to' sarebbe bella! To' to' chi viene!"

The form of *he*, if phonetic, presupposes monosyllabic **hai* < **hae*. Corresponding to the short-forms of the pres. ind., the short-form of the imper. sing. should be perhaps only *ha*. Whether such a form has existed at all, I cannot say. But while the *e* of the endings *-es*, *-et*, *-ent* was dropped in the short-forms of the pres. ind., because *-s*, *-t*, *-nt* indicated sufficiently the person and the number of the verb, it may have been considered a necessary inflection in the imper. The development of **hae* has, at any rate, its exact parallel in the development of another short-form, **vae* > **vai* > *ve*. It seems further to be substantiated by the short-form **vait* > *ve(t)* (Asturian): Fernandez-Guerra, p. 73 (1249) *ve al longo enna casa que fo* (*va á lo largo en la casa que fué*); Vigil, pp. 61a (1269) *camino que ue de Oliuares*; *ibid.* *camino queué* (l. *que ue*) *de trobano* (= *Truébano*); 86a (1286) *et delante camjno publico que ue para sant Cloyo*; 87a (1286); 100a (1288); Munthe, *Anteckningar*, p. 51 *bei*, i. e., *be* + analogical(?) *i*. I may perhaps adduce also the short-form **vais* > *ves*:² Clim. Sanch. (Gayangos), p. 456b *si monje quieres ser*,

¹Since the above was in type, I have received BRUGMANN, *Kurze vergl. Gramm. der indogerm. Sprachen*. On p. 611 I read: "*em* vermutlich aus *eme* 'nimm'." My own conclusion was reached independently of Lindsay.

²Asturian? Of the three authors quoted, Valdés is an Asturian by birth, Alfonso Martínez came from Castilla la Nueva, Clemente Sánchez from Castilla la Vieja. But both the *Libro de Enxemplos* and the *Corvacho* show certain peculiarities of the northern language. These may be due to scribes from the North (Alfonso de Contreras, the scribe of the *Corvacho*, may have come from the Contreras near Burgos), or, in the case of the *Libro de Enxemplos*, to the fact that its author, when engaged in writing it, was "arcediano de Valderas en la iglesia de Leon."

ves,¹ echa ese tu fijo en el río; Corvacho, p. 165 *Françisquiv*, *alles a casa de mi señora la de Fulano, que me preste sus paternostres de oro*; Valdés, José, XII; *Anda, pteara, ves á reunirte otra vez con la sacristana!* Munthe, loc. cit., *beis*, i. e., *bes* + analogical(?) *i*. The full-form *vade*, on the other hand, has developed to **vae* and *vai* (*vay*)² just as **trage* to *trae* and *trai* (*tray*) (originally dissyllabic). The full-form *vadit* has given **vae* and *vai* (*vay*) (originally dissyllabic) just as **tragit*—*trae* and *trai* (*tray*), *cadit*—*cae* and *cai* (*cay*) etc.

5. As a short-form, *he* belongs essentially to colloquial language. My opinion is confirmed by the statements of Valdés,³ *Diál. de la leng.*, p. 385, 22: "Muchos dizen he aqui por veis aqui, yo no lo digo;" of Covarrubias, *Tesoro*, s. v. *He*: "He, palabra barbara zafia, he aqui, veis aqui;" s. v. *Hele*:

Hele, adverbio demonstratiuo, *Ecce illum*. Dize el Romance viejo.

Hele, hele por do viene

....

El adverbio es he, y assi dezimos: Hele aqui. Heos aqui, y hele alli. Por otro termino no menos barbaro se dize: Heos me aqui, donde viene fulano.

Furthermore, it seems that in works of higher style it is avoided. The fate of *he* has then been unlike that of the short-forms of the pres. ind. which, with the exception of 2. plur.,⁴ soon prevailed over the full-forms and all became literary forms. The reason may lie partly in the fact that an imper. is so much less

¹To the ind. in the function of an imper., a special article will be devoted.

²The form *vai* (*vay*) < *vade* or *vadit* will be treated in a special article.

³CUERVO, *Rom.*, Vol. XXIV, p. 263: "Valdés, que como nadio ha tenido el instinto del buen lenguaje, distinguiendo lo permanente de lo pasajero y adivinando en cierto modo el uso moderno. . . ."

⁴*Hedes* occurs only as an auxiliary to form the future. *Heis* is used in the same way, but also with *de* and a following infinitive (a) and finally to form the past indefinite (b):

a) DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, pp. 230 *Vuestro mal eis de aclarar*. 236 *Anda, anda, que eis de pagar*. AUTOS, Vol. III, p. 255, 300 *a que prescio lo eis de dar?*

b) Primavera, Vol. I, p. 143 *Traidores heis todos sido*. TORRES NAHAERRO, Vol. I, p. 269 *á la par heis estudiado*. DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, pp. 33 *El mejor que nunca eis visto*. 69 *Qué gran pena nos eis dado* [!]. 94 *Eis notado la conseja*. 243 *¿no eis oido Que debajo mala capa?* AUTOS, Vol. I, p. 123, 209 *y pues tan bien heis sembrado, Dios os salve*. For examples from Lope and Tirso, cf. CUERVO, *Notas*, p. 88.

A remarkable form is *hais* instead of *heis* in DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. I, pp. 184 *Yo os digo que hais de sudar*. 295 *Haisme de hallar de puntas*.—142 *¿Hais mirado Qué ceño se le ha colgado?* Ibid. *¿Hais quizás encornudado?* 167 *Hais ambos buscado modo Para . . .* 198 *¿Hais notado El aviso que os he dado?* Probably on account of *han*, *ha*, *has*.

frequently used than a pres. ind. Moreover, in the case of *haber*, the pres. ind. serves as an auxiliary. But I attach equal and even greater importance to the fact that the short-form of the imper. had very early developed a different meaning from the full-form.

As a Sp. imper., *he* will be limited to positive, declarative sentences.

As a form of a transitive verb, *he* will require an object, noun or clause, in the acc.

6. Was there a plur. *hed*, corresponding to the sing. *he*? Foerster, *Span. Sprachlehre*, § 514, mentions *hed* (< *fed* < *ved*) and *afed*.¹ He adduces no instances, nor have I any. If *hed* ever existed, it was certainly short-lived and has not come down to historical times. The reason seems to be apparent. We address far oftener a single person than a plurality, and for the colloquial language of the times of which we are speaking, only the singular *tu* comes into question, not the *pluralis reverentiae vos*.² It is noteworthy that other original imperatives, similar in function to *he*, have been equally restricted to the singular. Cf., e. g., Sp. *calla, toma* which have as concomitant forms only *calle, tome*. Originally, perhaps, the latter were forms for polite address, though *calla, toma*, I feel sure, have been used as well in polite address as in the case of address of a plurality. Cf. further Lat. *em*; Fr. *voici*, in which, if *voi* is felt at all as a verb-form, it is felt as being in the sing., yet it is used for *tu* sing., *vos* plur. rev., and *vos* plur. Finally, Germ. *halt*; Grimm, *Wb.*, Vol. IV, 2, c. 280:

Dieser bedeutung (*sc.* stille stehen) fällt zu der imperativ halt! der nicht immer als verbalform mehr gefühlt wird und einen plural haltet! . . . seltener und in mehr gemäßigter rede entwickelt; häufig ist er vielmehr zur interjection abgeblaszt und formell so erstarrt, dasz er auch mehreren personen zugerufen wird. . . .

¹ SANCHEZ, *Col.*, Vol. I, p. 376, reads: "[Afe] admitia muchos afixos que hacian veces de acusativos, como *afedos*, veis aqui a dos." I suppose this to be the source of Foerster's *afedos*. The same carelessness is betrayed in other places of the same paragraph, especially where *cevos* in *cevos l'emperador* is made an Old Sp. form. It is, of course, Provençal (Boeci 44).

² Cf. EHRLSMANN, *Zeitschr. f. d. Wortf.*, Vol. I, p. 126: "Im gewöhnlichen Leben bei den spätromischen und romanischen Nationen ist die einfache Wechselrede zwischen Ich und Du gewiss weithin ablich geblieben."

Still, in such instances as Alex. 1090 *Otro día manana heuollos apellidos Que era Alexandre e los griegos uenidos*, or Sancho IV, p. 149a *é el ángel les dijo: "Non hayades miedo; Jesucristo Nazareno que vos demandades, que fué crucificado, resucitó é non es aquí, é hé aquí el logar* (Marc. 16, 6 *ecce locus*) *do le posieron*," it might be claimed this time that *he* is *hed* with loss of the final cons. as in the monosyllabic *fe*, *pie*, etc. But *fe*, *pie* are nouns and besides not primary forms;¹ in the monosyllabic imperatives the *-d* was probably kept on account of the other imperatives in *-d*, cf. *id.*²

He serving then, since about the time we know it, as well in addressing a single person as a plurality, must be considered a particle. Its function is that of an adverb.

7. The usage of *he*, once established, was continued also after *he* was no longer felt as a verb-form. In the same way the prevailing use of *ecce* with an acc. has been continued by its Romance derivatives, cf. Lat. *ecce* (Köhler, *Arch. f. lat. Lex.*, Vol. V, pp. 16 ff.), It. *ecco* (Vockeradt, *Lehrb.*, § 175, 1), Old Fr. *ez* (generally with acc.—Godefroy, *Dict.*, s. v. *Es*), Port. *eis* (Diez, *Gramm.*, p. 900 = Vol. III, p. 189).

By analogy of the demonstrative adverb, the interrogative adverb *do* is accompanied by the acc. of a pronoun or noun. Cuervo, *Dicc.*, Vol. II, p. 1322b, quotes M. de Chaide, *Magd. serm. de Orig.* (R[ivad]. 27. 412²) *Halladles, María; mirad que se correrán; y vuestra cortesana ¿dóla?* There is another instance in Menéndez Pidal, *Notas acerca del Bable de Lena*, § 37, with the following statement:

Nótese la elipsis del verbo estar, con el adverbio *u* = unde, en las interrogaciones *ulú? ulá?* como *ul sombriru?* dónde está el sombrero? El gallego y el portugués conocen este giro, y acaso el castellano antiguo

¹ *Fet* subsists in the phrases *d bona fet sen (mal) enganno* VIGIL, pp. 45a, 77a (1279), 81b (1282), 83a (1282), 109b (1297), 126b (1306), 150b (1314) and *fazer fed* VIGIL, pp. 156a (1315), 185a (1332), 188a (1334).

² The earliest instance of *i* I find in J. RUIZ 1582 (MS T, written c. 1389) *¡al ynferno y vos: catyvos: esquiuvos: biuos where MS G reads yd vos*. Later examples are: Primavera, Vol. II, p. 224 *vos los de aquesta tierra y en ella no parezcáis mas*. HOROZCO, p. 156 *Hermanos, con Dios os i: aquí: así: mi*. Ardamisa 374 *Yos vuestro camino*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 520, 558 *Dejame un poquito, yos: Judíos: míos*. Vol. IV, p. 61, 434 *No nos hagáis mas el buz, ydos presto, yos de aquí!* (For the sake of completeness, I may add from the same MS Vol. I, p. 183, 332 *Hora ydvos caminando por las pisadas desotras, e ydme . . .*) CUERVO, *Notas*, p. 109, has instances from Fray Luis de Granada and Lope.

lo conocía también; un precioso romance popular que comienza "yo me levantara, madre, mañanica de San Juan" contiene un cantarcillo que dice:

¿ Do los mis amores, do los ?

¿ Do los andaré á buscar ?

(Durán, *Romancero* II pág. 497)

y bien pudiera ser que el primer verso fuera independiente del segundo (como opina Durán al ponerle una interrogación final) y hubiera que interpretarlo *dó están los mis amores?* lo cual encierra más vigor y poesía que si entendemos *do los mis amores andaré á buscar*.

I may add: J. Ruiz 1568 (¿) *mi leal vieja*, [¿] *dola?* Barahona de Soto (*Flores*, Vol. II, p. 74) ¿ *Dó está vuestra presencia, dola? dola?* J. Ruiz 1331 *enbie por mi vieja; ella dixo: "ado lo?"* Corvacho, p. 116 ¿ *A do le* (V.L. lo) *este hueuo?* Encina, p. 351 Suplicio. . . . *Qu'está solo Mi compañero*. Gil. ¿ *Y adólo?* Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, p. 44 ¿ *Adó los?* ¿ *Dónde van?* *¡Mueran los traidores!*

Should the verbal origin of *he* not be accepted, how then shall we explain the accompanying acc.? A reference to the *accusativus exclamationis* will hardly do, for a *nom. exclam.* is more in order for Spanish than an *acc.* But it will be time enough to discuss this question, when, as I hope, it shall be taken up by others. I may, however, call attention beforehand to one fact, viz., that the demonstrative adverb *aquí* is at times accompanied by the *nom.* of a pronoun or noun (denoting a person), e. g., Núñez de Arce, *El Haz de Leña*, IV, 10 Carlos. (*Observándolos*, sc. Felipe and Catalina) (*¡El Rey con ella! . . . ¿Qué es esto?*) ¿ *Aquí vos?* . . . IV, 9 Catalina. *Aquí el Rey . . . ¡si me atreviera á suplicarle! . . .*

8. *He* is used:

a) With the acc. of a personal pronoun of the 1. (a) or 3. pers. (s),¹ sing. or plur.

a) I. Reg. 3, 4 (MS Esc. I. j. 8—fifteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 387) *Et clamo Dios a Samuel, el recudio: Hem*

¹ Why not also of the 2. pers.? I have not a single sure instance of such a construction. In RODRIGO COTA (*Antología*, Vol. IV, p. 19) (Amor speaking to El Viejo) *Hete aquí bien abraçado; Dime, ¿que sientes agora?* I consider *he=habeo*. There are other cases of *he*, followed by the acc. of a personal pronoun and the past part. of a transitive verb where it is equally difficult to decide whether *he=ecce* or *=habeo*. Cf., e. g., GARCILASO, p. 106 *Héme entregado, héme aquí rendido, (Hé aquí vences . . .)*.

aquí (Vulg. *Ecce ego*), *et fue apresso a Ely et dixol: Hem aquí* (Vulg. *Ecce ego*), *car me clamest*. (The meaning of *he* is frequently strengthened or modified by such adverbs as *aquí*, *acá*, etc.) Gil Vicente, p. 89 *Héme aquí en otra muerte*. (*He* points forward to a more definite locative phrase.) Torres Naharro, Vol. I, p. 272 *Con mi hato y garabato Hem' acá* (:). Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, pp. 95 *Jesús, héme aquí; ¿que manda?* (*He* is also employed in polite speech.) 177 *St, señora, héme aquí, ¿qué manda?*—Reyes Magos 127 *Rei, qque te plaze? he nos uenidos*. Gil Vicente, p. 47 *He nos aquí levantados*.

β) J. Ruiz 1502 *diz mi coraçon: ¡hela* (V. L. *ela*)! *fuyme para la dueña*. . . . Celestina, p. 111 *Hela aquí* (sc. vna tajada de diacitron), *señor*. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 175 *Hélo, hélo, por dó* (l. *do*) *viene¹ el moro por la calzada*. (Note the repetition of the phrase for the sake of emphasis.) Torres Naharro, Vol. II, pp. 161 *Helo alla* (sc. the Escolar) *por vida mia*. 196 *Hela abaxo* (sc. la prima?) *y hela encima, Hela acá y hela acullá*. 197 *Hela aquí sale cubierta La señora*.² Lope de Rueda, Vol. I, p. 139 *Sigüença. ¿qués de la espada?* Sebastiana. *Héla*. Vol. II, p. 200 *Héla héla* (sc. Lelia), *señor*.—Celestina, p. 141 *Helas aquí* (sc. las coraças), *señor*. Primavera, Vol. I, p. 62 *Hélos, hélos* (sc. los siete infantes de Lara) *por do vienen, con toda la su compañía*. Diego Sanchez, Vol. I, p. 337 *Hélos* (sc. the alguacil and the escribano) *vienen mano á mano*. Lazarillo, p. 51 *De que esto me oyeron, van por vn alguazil y vn escriuano; y helos do bueluen luego con ellos*. Lope de Rueda, Vol. I, p. 85 *Hélas ahí* (sc. las manos).

b) If used with a noun, we may suppose the latter to be the acc. All the more so because a noun denoting a person often takes the preposition *á*. Sancho IV, pp. 149a *é hé aquí el lugar* (Marc. 16, 6 *ecce locus*) *do le posieron*. 172a *Tullio dice: "Hé aquí el dolor."* Hohelied, p. 2 *He el mio amigo que me fabla* (Vulg. *En, dilectus meus loquitur mihi*). J. Manuel, p. 299a *Hé*

¹A predicative verb, expressing state (*ser, estar*) or motion (*venir, llegar, salir, volver*), and referring to the object of *he*, appears, in the earlier period, ordinarily as the finite verb of a relative sentence introduced by *do, por do*, etc. Cf. for O. Fr. examples, TOBLER, *Verm. Beitr.*, Vol. III, p. 67.

²Parataxis. Cf. the preceding note.

aquí la sierva de nuestro Señor Dios (Luc. 1, 38 *Ecce, ancilla Domini*). *Coronica Esp. I, fo. 117 ro.b esta es la mi yantar, e he aquí vuestra parte, e parad bien mientes si vos engañe: he aquí una mano del niño, e he un pie e la meytad de todo el otro cuerpo.* Anon. Sahagun, p. 317a *Ya estas cosas pasadas, he aquí otra vez retornados los daños, é peligros.* Lucas Fernandez, p. 179 *He aquí yesca y pedrenal.* Lope de Rueda, Vol. II, p. 213 *hé allí á Fabricio.* Autos, Vol. I, p. 265, 406 *He aquí el sueño y la soltura.* Vol. III, p. 397, 103 *He aquí el rrefran cumplido.* Gil Blas, Vol. I, p. 169 *Y hé aquí á todos mis pobres actores atónitos* (Lesage III, 12 *Voilà mes acteurs déconcertés!*).

c) In connection with *he*, a personal pronoun of the 2. pers. appears only as an ethical dative, sing. and plur. The phrase, as a rule, is accompanied by the acc. of a personal pronoun or noun. Encina, p. 69 *Y hételo aquí cada día.*—Alex. 1090 *Otro día manana heuollos apellidos Que era Alexandre e los griegos uenidos.* Est. God., p. 133 *todas las demas fortalezas dió á tener á los Aragoneses, e hé-uos-los sennores de toda Espanna.* The place of the noun may be taken by a relative clause: J. Mena, p. 168 *hevos do venian nueve Donas.* Or, with parataxis: Encina, p. 91 *Héte viene un escudero.*

d) *He (aquí)* may be followed by a clause which is introduced by a relative pronoun and stands to *he* in the relation of a direct object. D. Quix. I, 20 *He ay lo que yo dixé, que tuuiesse buena cuenta.* Echegaray, *Ó Locura ó Santidad*, I, 9 *donde estaba oculto* (sc. el pliego), *he ahí lo que ignoraba.* (The construction is comparatively modern.)

Or the clause may be introduced by a relative or interrogative adverb. Salamantina 2509 *He allí, juro a sant Juan, donde viene el alguazil.* Gil Blas, Vol. II, p. 14 *Hé aquí como los hombres mas rígidis templan su severidad cuando média el interes propio* (Lesage VII, 3 *C'est ainsi que les hommes les plus sévères rabattent de leur sévérité quand . . .*). (The first construction is old. It is restricted to those cases where the verb of the relative clause is an intransitive verb of state or motion. It is found also after verbs of seeing, but hardly later than the sixteenth century. The second construction is of modern date.)

Lastly, the clause may be introduced by *que* (relative adverb or conjunction?). Hohelied, p. 2 (II, 8) *Voz del mio amigo. he que este viene saliendo los oteros. traspassando los collados* (Vulg. ecce iste venit saliens in montibus). Ibid. (II, 9) *he que el esta tras nuestra pared. catando por las finiestras . . .* (Vulg. En, ipse stat post parietem nostrum . . .). Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 6—first half of fourteenth century—*Rom.*, Vol. XXVIII, p. 393) *He que concibra una virgen e parra fño* (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). D. Quix. I, 31 *Y bien, prosiguo don Quixote, he aqui que acabó de limpiar su trigo y de embiallo al molino.* Gil Blas, Vol. I, p. 5 *No bien habia comido el primer bocado, hé aquí que entra el mesonero* (Lesage I, 2 *Je n'avais pas encore mangé le premier morceau, que l'hôte entra*).

e) *He (aquí)* is rarely followed by a finite verb. Garcilaso, p. 10b *Hé aquí vences; toma los despojos De un cuerpo miserable y afligido.* Nov. ej., p. 225 *Hé aquí tenemos ya . . . á Aven-
daño hecho mozo de meson.* (A comparatively modern construction.)

B. E.

1. Diez, *Et. Wb.*, p. 125 s. v. *Ecco*, asserts:

[Von *eccum*] sicher auch sp. *ele, elo, ela* (für *ec-le, ec-lo, ec-la*), *étele* (=it. *eccotelo*), nicht etwa für *hele* oder *fele* aus *vele* . . . , da der abfall des anlautenden *h* für *f=v* minder leicht vor sich geht, niemals z. b. *emencia* für *hemencia, femencia* = *vehementia* gesagt wird.

But Lat. *eccu + ille* has given *aque!*, and Sp. *ec-le*, if it ever existed,¹ would not have developed to *ele*. The difference between *e* and *he* is merely graphic.

My earliest instances belong probably to the thirteenth century; the latest are from D. Quix. II (1615).

2. The same classification will be followed as for *he*.

a) a) Autos, Vol. II, p. 287, 253 *Eme aquí, santa vision.* Vol. III, p. 158, 288 *Eme aquí.*—Vol. I, p. 100, 80 Eliazer.

¹Curious is the Judeo-Spanish form *hec*. Gen. 37, 25 (Pentateuchübersetzung, Constantinopel, 1547—GRÜNBAUM, p. 11) *y alzarón sus ojos y vieron y hec* (הֵעַ) *caravana de moros.* 29 *Y torno* (וָרָוּן) *a el pozo y hec non* (יִסַּס) *en el pozo y rompio sus paños.* GRÜNBAUM, in a note, remarks: "*Hec* (הֵעַ) ist in den mit hebräischen Buchstaben gedruckten Büchern die gewöhnliche Form für 'he,' das die ferrarensische Bibel hat. . . ." An edition of 1873 (GRÜNBAUM, pp. 12-14) reads in the same passages *ek*. In this connection, one is naturally reminded of Prov. *hec, ec*. I have no desire to discuss this equally complicated question.

Ola! moços. Donde estais? Moço. Enos aqui un monton de ellos, por es[o] ved que mandais.

β) Autos, Vol. I, pp. 33, 326 *Ele alli, mi corderito*. 81, 432 *ela aqui* (sc. Delbora) *con brevedad*. Vol. II, p. 508 *Ela aqui* (sc. Avigail) *do viene*.—Vol. II, p. 440, 73 *Señora, elas aqui* (sc. las sillas).

b) S. Oria 128 *E aqui la reyna, de esto* (l. *desto*) *sei segura*. Autos, Vol. I, p. 212, 366 *E aqui los niños do estan*. Vol. II, p. 325 *E aqui otro*. (Cases in which the object of *e* is a pronoun other than a personal pronoun, are classified here.) Vol. III, p. 207, 214 *Padre, e aqui la vianda que en estotra alforja esta; sacalda* D. Quix. II, 25 *e aqui mis dos reales*. II, 73 *E aqui, señor, rompidos y desbaratados estos agujeros*.

c) Alex. 961 *Euos un cauallero, Areta fue llamado*. Est. God., p. 47 *Eues* (l. with V. L. *Euos*) *Flauio Egica, .iij. annos ante que muriese, puso á su fijo U[i]tiza en el regno (!) Gallazia*.

d) Autos, Vol. I, p. 422, 412 *A, señora Galaditta! e alli do viene su padre*.

C. AHE.

1. The form *ahe* stands to *he* in the same relation as, e. g., *aht* to *i* (*hi*, *y*, *hy*) < *hīc*.

If the *afe* of the *P. Cid* is only a dialectal form of *ahe*, and if, further, the *afe* belongs to the author of the *P. Cid*, then *ahe* dates at least from the last quarter of the twelfth century. My earliest examples occur in the *Est. God.*, written after 1243, the MS belonging to the last third of the thirteenth century. The latest examples I have noted appear in the *Corvacho*, written in 1438, the MS dating from 1466. In 1534, Valdés, *Diál. de la lengua*, p. 382, 33, writes: "Ahe, que quiere dezir *ecce*, ya no se usa, no sé porque lo avemos dexado, especialmente no teniendo otro que sinifique lo que el."

2. The same classification will be followed as for *he*.

a) Coronica Esp. IV, fo. 280 vo. *a ahelo* (sc. el casamiento) *en las manos de Dios, e faga y la su merced*.¹ (The only instance I have found of *ahe* + pronoun! It is, moreover, rather late.)

b) Est. God., p. 51 *Ahé Espanna tornado* (l. with

¹ Corresponds to *P. Cid* 1942.

V. L. *tornada*) en discordia. Plácidas, p. 125 *e cada vno atendiendo su caça, ahe aquí vn cieruo grande á marauilla*. Florençia, pp. 410 *En todo esto ahé aquí Miles en medio de la priesa, et fué ferir vn buen cauallero*. 424 *Et atanto ahé aquí Agrauayn et Clamador, et . . .* Ibid. *Atanto ahé aquí Sinagot que encontró Esmere*. 445 *et ella llorando asy, ahe aquí á Macayre*. 447 *A tanto ahé aquí Macayre*. Seuilla, pp. 345 *é do la reyna dormia asy sin guarda, ahé aquel enano que entró*. 364 *A tanto ahé el rey do viene*. Ps. 51, 9 (MS Esc. I. j. 8—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 389) *Ahe el varon que non puso a Dios por su fortaleza* (Vulg. Ecce homo, qui . . .). Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 3—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 514) *Ahe la virgen prennada e parira fijo* (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). Is. 40, 9 (MS R. Ac. Hist.—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 535 n.) *Ahe el vuestro Dios!* (Vulg. Ecce Deus vester). Iosaphat, p. 362 *Ahe cinco razones por las quales traemos las rreliquias de los santos*.

c) Est. God., pp. 39 *Hahéuos (!) con toda essa companna don Paulo con su bando cuydó uenir bien seguro en Espanna*. 42 *Ahéuos don Paulo en cuyta en [a]quela su fortaleza de Arenas*. Crón. rim. 172 *Ahevos aquí su preuillejo como lo trayo otorgado*. Gatos, p. 552a *Et él estando y ahe-vos las bestias que se juntaron á cabildo so aquel árbol*.—Florençia, p. 434 *Entre tanto aheuos aquí do viene Agrauayn corriendo por el campo*. J. Ruiz 1089 *Non avia acabado desir byen su verbo, ahe vos ado viene muy lygero el cieruo*.

d) Florençia, pp. 403 *En todo esto ahé aquí do vienen los infantes d'Ongria*. 409 *Atanto ahé aquí do vien Eleame*. 412 *Et asy estando, ahe aquí ó viene el enperador Ottas*. 419 *Vn dia aveno que seyendo Garsyr á la mesa, ahé aquí dó (l. do) viene Sinagot su conestable*.

Est. God., p. 10 *Ahé que don Hérculos con los Griegos así ganó Espanna*. Coronica Esp. I, fo. 104 vo.a *e dixoles a he (!) que yo el vuestro Dios ya me muero*. Is. 7, 14 (MS Esc. I. j. 4—fourteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 406) *Ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo* (Vulg. Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). Anon. Sahagun, p. 330 *é como ya rezase el Evangelio, ahe, que*

stúpidamente comenzamos á oír grandes estruendos. Is. 40, 10 (MS R. Ac. Hist.—fifteenth century—Rom., Vol. XXVIII, p. 535 n.) *Ahe que Adonay Elohím fuerte verna e con el ssu braço ssennoreara por ssy. Ahe que (!) el su merescimiento con el e la ssu obra delante del* (Vulg. ecce Dominus Deus in fortitudine veniet, et brachium ejus dominabitur: ecce merces ejus cum eo, et opus illius coram illo). Biblia Alba, pp. 25 *ahe que la virgen concebira e parira fijo* (Is. 7, 14 Ecce virgo concipiet . . .). 39 *dixo el señor: ahe que vos yo di toda herua* (Gen. 1, 29 Ecce dedi vobis omnem herbam). 43 *ahe que tu hermosa eres, la mi querida, ahe que tu hermosa tu eres e los tus ojos palomos: ahe que tu eres hermoso, el mi querido* (Cant. 1, 14 Ecce, tu pulchra es, amica mea, ecce tu pulchra es,¹ oculi tui columbarum. 15 Ecce, tu pulcher es, dilecte mi). 44 *ahe que la su cama de salamon sesenta barraganes la circundan de los fortissimos de israel* (Cant. 3, 7 En, lectulum Salomonis sexaginta fortes ambiunt ex fortissimis Israel). 49 *ahe que entenderá el mi siervo* (Is. 52, 13 Ecce, intelliget servus meus). Corvacho, pp. 241 *Señor, ¡ahe que medidos posyste los mis dias* (Ps. 38, 6 Ecce mensurabiles posuisti dies meos)! 306 *ahe* (V. L. *aha*), *doña loca engrosada, que non es tiempo de burlar*.

e) *Ahe* is frequently found in sentences with a finite verb, but, to judge from the material on hand, only in translations from the Latin.² Est. God., pp. 11 *Ahé toda la tierra de Lonbardia destruyda et los omnes subiugados á su servicio, don Hércules uino en Grecia, et destruyó Troya*. 63 *Ahé Toledo non fué destruida*. Quatro Doctores, pp. 358, 7 *ahe puse las mis palabras en la tu boca* (Foerster, p. 20, 7 Ecce posui . . .). 361, 24 *ahe has los sueldos que demandaste* (F., p. 38, 18 Ecce habes . . .). 362, 21 *ca ahe, las gallinas que cria, comellas el*

¹ Cf. Cant. 4, 1 *Quam pulchra es, amica mea, quam pulchra es!* Hohelied, p. 3 *Que hermosa eres amiga mia que hermosa eres*. Biblia Alba, p. 44 *ahe que tu hermosa eres, la mi amiga; ahe que tu hermosa eres*. LUIS DE LEON (GRÜNBAUM, p. 33) *¡Ay que hermosa tu eres, amiga mia, ay que hermosa!*

² In the examples from the Est. God. I can only suppose Lat. *ecce* as the original of *ahe*. The Lat. text published by SCHOTT, *Hispania illustr.*, offered no help. The Quatro Doctores and the Iosaphat are translations from Vincentius Bellovacensis. An ed. of the latter not being accessible to me, I have used, for the examples taken from the Dialogues of Gregory (only this part of the Quatro Doctores was examined by me) the text published by FOERSTER, *Li Dialogue Gregoire le Pape*, and for Iosaphat, the text published by MIGNE, Vol. LXXXIII.

rraposo (F., p. 40, 20 *Ecce enim gallinas quas nutrit uulpes comedit*). 371, 28 *ahe vo a los frayres a dar les azarope* (F., p. 96, 5 *Ecce ad fratres uado . . .*). 373, 27 *ahe rroquele, e non me quisiste oyr* (F., p. 101, 16 *Ecce te rogaui . . .*). 377, 29 *ahe rremedas las bestias, commo eres digno* (F., p. 118, 6 *ecce, ut dignus es, bestias imitaris*). 381, 17 *ahe tomadlas e vestildas* (F., p. 135, 6 *ecce tollite . . .*). 383, 29 *ahe, matestelas, señor* (F., p. 140, 16 *Ecce illos occidisti, Domine*). 397, 28 *ahe vengo, ahe vengo* (F., p. 208, 14 *Ecce uenio, ecce uenio*). 409, 25 *yd uos, yd uos; ahe dado so a tragar al dragon* (F., p. 251, 7 *Recedite, recedite, quia draconi ad deuorandum datus sum*). 410, 4; 6; 23. 421, 25 *e ahe, commo estudiесе en medio el mar, paresçione vno, el qual . . .* (F., p. 278, 12 *et ecce in eodem medio mari me posito quidam apparuit, qui . . .*). Iosaphat, pp. 338. 343 *Ahe rreprehendiendo la tu non sabiduria use desta manera* (Migne, Vol. LXXIII, p. 463 *En igitur ut tuam dementia coarguerem, hac ratione usus sum*). 345 *Ahe en pocas cosas te manifeste el mi señor* (M., p. 469 *Et tibi Dominum meum . . . paucis verbis declaravi*). Ibid. *Ca ahe luego que tome estas palabras, lunbre muy dulce entro al mi coraçon* (M., p. 469 *Ecce enim ut hæc verba auribus excepi, suauissima lux pectus meum subiit*). 375. 381. 387. 389.

The more marked the pause between *ahe* and the finite verb, and the farther the latter gets from the former by inserted parts of the sentence, especially by an inserted dependent clause, the nearer comes *ahe* to being an interjection. This is decidedly the case when *ahe* is accompanied by an interrogative or exclamatory sentence. Quatro Dotores, p. 364, 6 *o ahe, que fizo el varo[n] santo Furtunato obispo* (F., p. 43, 11 *O uirum sanctum Fortunatum episcopum! ecce quid fecit!*)! Iosaphat, pp. 355 *Ca ahe quanto tienpo ha el çielo e non es denegrado* (M., p. 509 *Ecce enim quantum jam temporis fluxit, ex quo coelum est, nec tamen obscuritatem contraxit*). 381 *Ahe loco commo non aduzes al seso de la verdat* (M., p. 572 *Quin¹ te vis veritatis sensu afficit?*).

¹I should not omit mentioning that the translator (or translators?) of Vinc. Bellov. have also in at least two cases rendered Lat. *heu* by *ahe*. Quatro Dotores, p. 360, 16 *ahe, ahe, muerto es este mesquino* (F., p. 37, 2 *Heu, heu, mortuus est miser iste*). Iosaphat, p. 350 *ahe a mi, que primeramente llanteare, o que mas llorare* (M., p. 495 *Heu me miserum, quidnam prius deflebo ac lamentabor?*)!

D. HAE.

1. *Hae*—by the side of which very likely *ae* will also be found—is a graphical variant of *hahe* (cf. Est. God., p. 39—*Ahe* § 2, c) or *ahe*.

2. The few instances at my disposal show the particle followed by an ethical dative and a noun. Est. God., p. 48 *Haéuos el regno de los Godos . . . tornado á mal*. Crón. rim., p. 2 *haevos aqui los poderes del rey don Sancho*. Gatos, p. 551a *haevos las bestias que se ayuntaron todas á cabildo so el árbol*.

E. FE.

1. I have claimed that the *fe*-forms of the *P. Cid* belong to a dialect different from that to which the *he*-forms belong. That dialect has been said to be the Asturian. Besides the eight cases of *fe* in the *P. Cid*, I count ten in other texts. At least four of these are found in MSS with northern peculiarities, viz., the MS S of J. Ruiz (cf. Menéndez Pidal, *Rom.*, Vol. XXX, p. 435) and the *Corvacho*.

That, among Spanish dialects, the Asturian dialect alone has preserved Lat. initial *f* is well known. A predilection for that sound seems thereby to be proved. Quadrado (in Canella Secades, *Estudios asturianos*, p. 250) says:

La *f* sustituye (sc. el bable) á la *h* aspirada; v. g.: falar por hablar, fer por hacer, y aun encabeza palabras que en castellano carecen de *h*; v. g.: fola por ola.

Fola is unfortunately of obscure origin. But perhaps *finchir* could be cited in this connection. In this word the *i* instead of *e*, on account of a following *n*, might also point to northern origin. Further *finojo*, Vigil, *Glos.*, and *farrear*, *Corvacho*, *Glos.* Whether the latter is = *arrear* < **arredare* or = *arrear* < *arre*, I cannot say. In either case the quotation serves the purpose. But *farrear* = *arrear* < *arre* would at the same time support *farre* = *arre*, J. Ruiz MS S 517. Baist, *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. IV, p. 347, observes:

Farre steht nur einmal in einer Hs. des Juan Ruiz, die beiden andern bieten *h*; *harre* erscheint als eine willkürliche Verstärkung des Zurufs, die arabisch,—*harr* bei Freytag—ebenso belegt ist wie im Spanischen.

Nevertheless I would advocate *farre* not only because it stands in a MS which contains a "multitud de leonesismos" (Menéndez Pidal) and is therefore in keeping with the general linguistic character of the MS, but also for the reason that there seems to be a natural tendency to aspirate interjections (especially when they are monosyllabic). Cf., e. g., Nyrop, *Gramm. hist.*, Vol. I, § 484:

Le *h* aspiré se trouve enfin dans plusieurs interjections de caractère onomatopéique: Ha, haie, hallali, hare, hein, hem, holá, hou, houp, huan, hue. Rappelons aussi les verbes: haleter (pour aleter, proprement "battre de l'aile," ala), hennir (hinnire). . . .

Thus then I would also explain *fa* in *fadeduro*, J. Ruiz MS¹ S 389 (MS G *hadeduro*); *fade maja*, J. Ruiz MS S 959 (MS G *hadeduro*) in contrast with *ha* (cf. Sanchez, Vol. IV, p. 307), and *fe* in contrast with *he*.

2. Cf. for the classification of the following examples, *he*.

a) a) P. Cid 269 *Fem ante uos yo² e uuestras fijas*. J. Ruiz 1458 *fe me aqui presto; non temas, ten esfuerço*. Corvacho, p. 302 *Pues, Pobreza, di a quién me darás por fianças e luego fême* (V. L. *veeme*) *presta para te fazer conoscer que*. . . . Pero Gonçalves de Useda (*Canc. Baena*, p. 403) *Efeme fecho conde, vo me para Francia*.

β) Boc. Oro, p. 302 *Ayer apremiava este a los otros omnes, e felo* (V. L. *afelo*) *ado esta oy apremiado*. Ibid. *Este es el que andudo toda la tierra del un cabo del mundo al otro, e felo puesto entre dos braças*.—P. Cid 485 *Fellos en Casteion, o el Campeador estaua*. 1452 *Felos en Medina las duenas e Albarfanez*. 2647 *Felos en Molina con el moro Avengaluon*. 3534 *Felos al plazo los del Campeador*. 3701 *Felos en Valençia con myo Çid el Campeador*.

¹ In copla 967 the same MS reads *hadre duro* (MS G *hadeduro*).

² Cf. P. Cid 1597 *Afe me aqui, señor, yo uuestras fijas e amas*. *Yo* is appositive to *me*, a case of nom. instead of acc., not mentioned by MEYER-LÜBKE, *Gramm.*, Vol. III, § 62. He gives, however, § 58, an Italian example of *io* appositive to *ci*. As after *mas-que* (MEYER-LÜBKE, op. cit., § 62 and GESSNER, *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XVII, p. 10), the nom. is also found after *fuera*: Duelo 21 *Ca fuera io, de todas ella maes lo querie*. S. Catalina, p. 279 *Aqui non ha otro fueras yo e vos*. (Cf. TOBLER, *Ferm. Beitr.*, Vol. I², p. 273.) After *fuera de*: Antos, Vol. IV, p. 83, 520 *Fuera de yo no ay ninguno que*. . . . After *sino*: DIEGO SANCHEZ, Vol. II, p. 183 *No hay otro Dios sino yo*. (Cf. for the nom. after 'but' etc., JESPERSEN, *Progress in Language*, p. 193.) Finally, in *desdichado de yo*, Antos, Vol. I, p. 114, 142; D. Quix. I, 28, we have contamination of *desdichado yo* and *desdichado de mí*.

b) Maria Eg., p. 315a *Que fe aqui huna doliosa Que por ell yermo va rencurca*. Lucanor, p. 125, 3 *Ea, don sobrino, fe aqui* (V. L. *he; vedes donna; he aqui do viene*) a donna Vascunnana que nos partira nuestra contienda. J. Ruiz 1331 *fe aque* (l. *aqui*) *buen amor qual buen amiga buscolo*.

c) P. Cid 1335 *Feuos aqui las señas, verdad uos digo yo*. 3591 *Feuos dela otra part los yfantes de Carrion*. Maria Eg., p. 310a *Feuos aqui mio tesoro*.—Corvacho, p. 285 *E la Pobreza asy estando, feuos* (V. L. *he vos*) *aquí donde viene por el camino adelante la Fortuna*.

F. AFE.

1. *Afe* proceeds from *fe*, as *afe* from *he*.

2. Cf. for the classification of the following examples, *he*.

a) a) P. Cid 1597 *Afe me aqui, señor, yo uuestras fijas e amas*.

β) P. Cid 505 *Todo lo otro afelo en uuestra mano*. Reyes de Or., p. 320b *Afelo allí don jaz gazo*.—P. Cid 2088 *Afellas en uuestra mano don Elhura e doña Sol*. 2101 *Afellas en uuestras manos los yfantes de Carrion*. 2175 *Afelos en Valençia, la que mio Cid gaño*. 2947 *Afelas sus fijas en Valençia do son*. (If one reads *Afe las sus fijas*, the instance belongs to the following division.)

b) P. Cid 1317 *Afe Minaya Albarfanez do lega tan apuesto*. 2135 *Respondio el Rey: "Afe aqui Albarfanez. . . ."* 2222 *Afe amas mis fijas, metolas en uuestra mano*. (The punctuation of the editor is correct, if *amas mis fijas* is the object of *afe*. It is wrong, if *amas mis fijas* is the object of *meto*. Such a possibility is not excluded. Cf. S. Dom. 38 *Evangelios, epistolas aprisólas* (l. *aprisolas*) *privado*; 377 *Ladrones de la tierra movieles el pecado*; Gessner, *Zeitschr.*, Vol. XVII, pp. 20 ff. In such a case there is hardly any difference between *afe* = *ecce* and *a fe* = *profecto*. And in that way *a fe* = *profecto* might have become *afe* = *ecce*. It would then still remain for Ascoli to explain the early *h*-forms.—A similar difficulty arises in one or another of the following instances.) 2381 *Afe los moros a oio, yd los en sayar*. 3393 *Affe dos caualleros en traron por la cort*. 3407 *Afe mis fijas, en uuestras manos son*.

c) P. Cid 152 *Afeuos los ala tienda del Campeador contado.*
 262 *Afeuos doña Ximena con sus fijas do ua legando.* 476
Afeuos los CC. iij. enel algara. 1255 *Afeuos todo aquesto*
puesto en buen Recabdo. 1431 *Afeuos Rachel e Vidas alos pies*
le caen. 1499 *Afeuos aqui Pero Vermuez e Mũno Gustioz que*
uos quieren sin hart. 1568 *Afeuos todos a questos Reçiben a*
Minaya. 2230 *Alos yfantes de Carrion Minaya va hablando:*
"Afeuos delant Minaya, amos sodes hermanos." 2368 *Afeuos*
el obispo don Iheronimo muy bien armado. Maria Eg., p. 312a
Afeuos Marta en el camino E encontró vn pelegriño.

d) P. Cid 1942 *Afe Dios del çielo que nos acuerde en lo*
miior. 2140 *Dixo Albarfanez: "señor, afe que me plaz."* 2155
Afe Dios del çielo, que lo ponga en buen logar! 2855 *Affe Dios*
delos çielos que uos de dent buen galardón!

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN QUOTING SPANISH TEXTS.

- Alex. = [Berceo] *El Libro de Alexandre*. In Janer, *Poetas castellanos anteriores al Siglo XV*, 1864, pp. 147 ff.
 Anon. Sahagun = *Historia del Monasterio de Sahagun*. In Escalona, *Historia del R. Monasterio de Sahagun*, 1782, pp. 297 ff.
 Antologia = Menéndez y Pelayo, *Antologia de Poetas Hricos castellanos*, 1890-.
 App. = *Libro de Apollonio*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 283 ff.
 Ardamisa = Diego de Negueruela, *Farsa llamada Ardamisa*; réimpression p. p. L. Rouanet, 1901.
 Autos = Rouanet, *Coleccion de Autos, Farsas, y Coloquios del Siglo XVI*, 1901.
 Biblia Alba = Paz y Melia, *La Biblia puesta en romance por Rabi Mosé Arragel de Guadalfajara (1422-33)*. In *Homenaje á Menéndez y Pelayo*, Vol. II, 1899, pp. 5 ff.
 Bos. Oro = *Este Libro es llamado Bocados de Oro*. . . . In Knust, *Mittheilungen aus dem Esturial*, 1879, pp. 66 ff.
 Canc. Baena = *El Cancionero de Juan Alfonso de Baena*, 1851.
 Celestina = *Comedia de Calisto y Melibea*; réimpression p. p. R. Foulché-Delbosc, 1900.
 Clim. Sanch. (Gayangos) = *El Libro de los Enzemplos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores en Prosa anteriores al Siglo XV*, 1884, pp. 447 ff.
 Clim. Sanch. (Morel-Fatio) = Clemente Sanchez, *El Libro de Enzemplos* por A. B. C. In *Rom.*, Vol. VII, pp. 481 ff.
 Coron. Esp. = *Las quatro Partes enteras de la Coronica de España*. . . . ; vista y emendada mucha parte de su impression por el Maestro Florian Docampo 1604.
 Corvacho = Alfonso Martinez de Toledo, *Arcipreste de Talavera (Corvacho ó Reprobación del Amor mundano)*, 1901.
 Crón. D. Pedro = Pedro Lopez de Ayala, *Crónicas de los Reyes de Castilla Don Pedro, Don Enrique II, Don Juan I, Don Enrique III*; t. I. que comprende la crónica del rey D. Pedro, 1779.
 Crón. gen. M. = *De la Crónica general que mandó componer el Rey Don Alfonso X*. In Menéndez Pidal, *La Leyenda de los Infantes de Lara*, 1896, pp. 207 ff.
 Crón. rim. = *Crónica rimada de las Cosas de España*. . . . y mas particularmente de las Aventuras del Cid; p. p. D. F. Michel. In [Wiener] *Jahrbücher der Literatur*, 1846, Anzeig-Blatt, pp. 1 ff.
 D. Quix. = Cervantes, *El ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*, 1606-15 (Facsimile).
 Diego Sanchez = Diego Sanchez de Badajoz, *Recopilacion en Metro*; réimpression por D. V. Barrantes, 1892-96.
 Encina = Juan del Encina, *Teatro completo*, 1893.
 Est. God. = Arçobispo Don Rodrigo, *Estoria de los Godos*. In *Coleccion de Documentos inéditos*. . . . ; t. LXXXVIII, 1887, pp. 1 ff.
 F. Avilés = *El Fuero de Avilés*; discurso leído . . . por D. A. Fernandez-Guerra y Orbe, 1865.
 Fernandez-Guerra = Fernandez-Guerra, *Muestra del Lenguaje asturiano y leonés durante el Siglo XIII*. In F. Avilés, pp. 67 ff.
 Férotin = Férotin, *Recueil des Chartes de l'Abbaye de Silos*, 1897.
 F. Juzgo = *Fuero Juzgo*, 1815.
 Florencia = *Aquí (l. Aquí) comienza el Cuento muy fermoso del Enperador Ottas de Roma et de la Infante Florencia*. . . . In Rios, *Hist. crít.*, Vol. V, pp. 391 ff.

- Flores = Pedro Espinosa and Juan Antonio Calderón, *Primera [y segunda] Parte de las Flores de Poetas ilustres de España*; ed. por D. J. Quirós de los Ríos y D. F. R. Marin, 1894.
- Garcilaso = Garcilaso de la Vega, *Poesías*. In A. de Castro, *Poetas líricos de los Siglos XVI y XVII*; t. 1, 1872, pp. 3 ff.
- Gatos = Libro de los Gatos. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 543 ff.
- Gil Blas = *Historia de Gil Blas de Santillana por Le Sage*, traducida al castellano por el Padre Isla, Leipzig, 1883.
- Gil Vicente = Gil Vicente, *Ocho Representaciones*. In [Böhl de Faber] *Teatro español anterior á Lope de Vega*, 1835, pp. 39 ff.
- Grünbaum = Grünbaum, *Jüdisch-spanische Chrestomathie*, 1896.
- Hohelied = *Das Hohelied in castilianischer Sprache des XIII. Jahrhunderts . . .*; von J. Cornu.
- Horozco = S. de Horozco, *Cancionero*, 1874.
- Iosaphat = *La Estoria del Rey Anemur e de Iosaphat e de Barlaam*; von F. Lauchert. In *Rom. Forsch.*, Vol. VII, pp. 331 ff.
- Iosep = *Este Tratado se llama el Libro de Iosep ab Arimatia e otrosi Libro del sancto Grial* . . . MS Bibl. Part. de S. M. 2-G-5.
- J. Mena = Juan de Mena, *Obras*, 1894.
- J. Ruiz = Juan Ruiz, *Libro de buen Amor*; texte . . . p. p. J. Ducamin, 1901.
- Juan Manuel = Don Juan Manuel, *Obras*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 229 ff.
- Lazarillo = *La Vida de Lazarillo de Tormes* . . .; restitución de la ed. princ. por R. Foulché-Delbos, 1900.
- Lope de Rueda = Lope de Rueda, *Obras*, 1895-96.
- Lucanor = Juan Manuel, *El Libro de los Exemplos del Conde Lucanor e de Patronio*; Text und Anmerkungen aus dem Nachlasse von H. Knust h. v. A. Birch-Hirschfeld, 1900.
- Lucas Fernandes = Lucas Fernandez, *Farsas y Eglogas*, 1867.
- Maria Eg. = *Vida de Santa Maria Egipcíaca*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 307 ff.
- Merlin = *Aquí comienza la Estoria de Merlin* . . . MS Bibl. Part. de S. M. 2-G-5.
- Milagr. = [Berceo] *Milagros de Nuestra Señora*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 103 ff.
- Nov. ej. = Cervantes, *Novelas ejemplares*, Leipzig, 1883.
- P. Cid = *Poema del Cid*; nueva ed. por R. Menéndez Pidal, 1898.
- Plácidas = *De vn Cavallero Plácidas* . . . In Knust, *Dos Obras didácticas y dos Leyendas*, 1878, pp. 123 ff.
- Primavera = Wolf and Hofmann, *Primavera y Flor de Romances*, 1856.
- Quatro Doctores = *La Estoria de los quatro Doctores de la santa Iglesia*; h. v. F. Lauchert, 1897.
- Quevedo = Quevedo Villegas, *Obras*, 1876-77.
- Reyes de Or. = *Libro de los Reyes de Oriente*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 319 ff.
- Reyes Magos = *Auto de los Reyes Magos*. In Menéndez Pidal, *Disputa del Alma y el Cuerpo y Auto de los Reyes Magos*, 1900.
- Rim. Pal. = *Este Libro fizo el honrrado Caballero Pero Lopez de Ayala* . . . e llámase el *Libro de Palacio*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 425 ff.
- Rrey Guill. = *Aquí comienza la Estoria del Rrey Guillelme*. In Knust, *Dos Obras didácticas* pp. 171 ff.
- Sacr. = [Berceo] *Del Sacrificio de la Misa*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 80 ff.
- Salamantina = Palau, *La Farsa llamada Salamantina*; p. p. A. Morel-Fatio, 1900.
- Sancho IV = Rey Don Sancho, *Castigos e Documentos*. In Gayangos, *Escritores*, pp. 79 ff.
- S. Catalina = *De Santa Catalina*. In Knust, *Geschichte der Legenden der h. Katharina von Alexandrien und der h. Maria Aegyptiaca*, 1890, pp. 232 ff.
- S. Dom. = [Berceo] *Escomienza la Vida del glorioso Confesor Sancto Domingo de Silos*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 39 ff.
- S. Emper. = *Aquí comienza un muy fermoso Cuento de una santa Emperatriz* . . . In [Wiener] *Sitzungsber.*, Vol. LIII, pp. 508 ff.
- Seuilla = *Aquí comienza vn noble Cuento del Enperador Cárlos Maynes de Roma e de la buena Emperatriz Seuilla* . . . In Ríos, *Hist. crit.*, Vol. V, pp. 344 ff.
- S. Idef. = *El Beneficiado de Ubeda, Vida de San Idefonso*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 323 ff.
- S. Juan de la Peña = *Historia de la Corona de Aragón* . . . conocida generalmente con el *Nombre de Crónica de San Juan de la Peña*, 1876.
- S. Oria = [Berceo] *Vida de Sancta Oria, Virgen*. In Janer, *Poetas*, pp. 137 ff.
- S. Teresa = Santa Teresa, *Escritos*; añadidos e ilustrados por D. V. de la Fuente, 1877-79.
- Tirso = Tirso de Molina, *Comedias escogidas*; juntas en coleccion por D. J. E. Hartzenbusch, 1896.
- Torres Naharro = Torres Naharro, *Propaladia*; reimprimela D. M. Caffete, 1880-1900.
- Vigil = *Vigil, Coleccion histórico-diplomática del Ayuntamiento de Oviedo*, 1889.

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A GUIDE TO THE ANTIQUITIES OF THE BRONZE AGE IN THE DEPARTMENT OF BRITISH AND MEDIÆVAL AN- TIQUITIES.

(WITH TEN PLATES AND 148 ILLUSTRATIONS.)

[Printed by Order of the Trustees¹ (London, 1904). 8vo, pp. xii + 159.]

THIS shilling volume has its preface signed by a well-known archæologist, Charles H. Read, of the British Museum, whose work I take the volume to be; and though it is intended merely as a guide to a portion of the treasures housed in the British Museum, its interest to all those who have tried to understand the prehistory of the British Isles cannot be easily exaggerated, though some of them may possibly never have set foot within any of the Museum buildings. Among other things, Mr. Read is one of the first archæologists to try to correlate the results of his science with those of the ethnology of the Celts and their precursors in the occupation of Britain and Ireland. It does not come to much, it is true, but that is not the author's fault so much as a result of the intrinsic difficulties of the case; and it may prove useful to have those difficulties clearly pointed out from the archæological side.

There is also the advantage to the philologist of seeing his questions regarded from a different point of view from his own. Before coming to the instance here in point I may mention that the author alludes to movements in the Celtic world of the continent in the sixth and fifth centuries before our era, and suggests that they did not leave the British Isles unaffected; "but it was probably long before that date," he goes on to say, "that a branch of that widespread family settled in these islands." He alludes to the Goidel or Gaoidheal whose national name English orthography simplifies into Gael, and he thinks that the Goidel

¹ It is a pity that the author has allowed the Trustees an opportunity of showing their hopeless incapacity to give his book a brief and quotable title: perhaps after all a publisher might have been useful.

once occupied most of Britain south of the firths of Forth and Clyde. He would probably not have erred in dating his advent nearer to the year 1000 B. C. than to the sixth or fifth century. At all events, it was a long time before the next Celtic invasion of Britain took place, and here what has usually been regarded as one group of invasions is treated with evident advantage as two. Mr. Read's own words will best explain what I mean (p. 22):

The new-comers are known as Brythons, and it is from them that the name Britain is derived. A chronological limit for this second wave of Keltic immigration is possibly afforded by the express mention of Britain in the record of the voyage of Pytheas, a Greek of Marseilles who explored north-west Europe about the time of the philosopher Aristotle, towards the end of the fourth century B. C.; but the name may have been merely put into his mouth by Strabo, who quotes from a lost original. Some time before Cæsar's invasion a third conquest of this island by people with a similar language had taken place, and as he found the Belgæ in possession of the south, it is evident that by that time the Brythons, who had been steadily driving their predecessors, the Goidels, to the extremities of Britain and probably into Ireland, were themselves being pressed northward by more recent invaders who have left their name to Belgium.

Now, the name of Britain, ἡ Βρετανικὴ (better ἡ Πρετανικὴ), is not the only name of importance here which Strabo puts into the mouth of Pytheas, for there is also that of Cantion, which survives in English as Kent and cannot have been, so far as I can see, derived in its form of Cantion from any Goidelic source. This and other considerations to which I had not given due weight make me accept with all the less hesitation Mr. Read's treatment of Brythons and Belgæ as forming two distinct groups of invasions of Britain. The early populations of the island would accordingly stand as follows: (1) the Aborigines, consisting of a dwarf race of mound-dwellers commonly called Fairies and invested with all kinds of impossible attributes belonging to obscure divinities; (2) the Iverno-Pictish population; (3) the Goidelic invaders; (4) the Brythons, and (5) the Belgæ.

The following paragraph as to Ireland (p. 146) is similar in its suggestiveness to the one already cited as to Britain, and it

agrees with conclusions which I have drawn from different data in a paper read some time ago to the British Academy:

The greater part of the gold ornaments exhibited comes from Ireland, but very few pieces have any history, and the archæological value of the series is thereby impaired. It is significant that many of the gold-finds in England have been in the south-west, while Wales, also within easy reach of Ireland, has also been productive. The metal was not confined to any one district in Ireland, but was found or traded all over the island, which has been regarded as the El Dorado of the ancient world. According to M. Salomon Reinach, this industry of the Iberian population was ruined by a foreign invasion about 1000 B. C., and some Keltic-speaking barbarians (possibly the Goidels) arrested the development of Ireland till the advent of more invaders some time before 200 B. C., when the Late Keltic culture was introduced.

The early populations of Ireland may be classified as follows: (1) the Mound-Dwellers, living apart in the mountains and other remote parts of the country, resembling in some respects the reservations marked out for the Red Man in the United States of America; (2) the Iverno-Pictish populations, who were variously called Érnai or Ivernians, Cruithni, and True Ultonians, and gave to Ireland its name of Eriu, Hiberio, Juverna, and kindred forms; (3) the Erimonian Goidels, of Milesian descent, or the invaders led by the Sons of Míl, for whose seizure of Meath—called after them *Mide mac Miled*, "Meath of Míl's Sons"—the year 1000 B. C. will do provisionally well enough; (4) a miscellaneous group of invaders, consisting of Galeóin, Fir Bolg, Fir Domnann, Lagin, and others introduced by an early Dermot whose name was Labraid Longsech, or Labraid the Exile, in order to establish him in power in Leinster. Some of these were probably Brythons or Belgæ, and may have been mere mercenaries; at any rate, they failed, so far as is known, to perpetuate a Brythonic or Gaulish language in any part of Ireland. Labraid the Exile's return with his foreign auxiliaries took place, no doubt, before 200 B. C.; the Four Masters date it so far back as the sixth century before our era. It is possibly to Labraid's auxiliaries that we are to trace the cluster of small tribes placed by the geographer Ptolemy on the coast of Leinster between the Liffey and Carnsore Point. Some of these, though Celtic, were non-

Goidelic, such as the Brigantes of the southeast corner, and the Belgæ whose town, called Manapia, was somewhere in the neighborhood of Arklow in the county of Wicklow. It is remarkable also that one of these tribes was called Cauci, which reminds one of the Germanic people of the Chauci somewhere between the Rhine and the Elbe.

Thus the early populations of Britain and Ireland may be said to have consisted of the same racial elements; but the difficulty of associating the introduction of metal-working with any of the waves of invasion is at once apparent. Mr. Read produces excellent authority for the opinion that the Phœnicians were acquainted with the mineral fields of Britain between 1500 and 1200 B. C., and that the use of tin in Britain, probably also of copper, dated still earlier (p. 23).

The Phœnicians [he goes on to say], or those who traded with them, would not land in Britain and discover tin spontaneously; it must have been a knowledge that the inhabitants of Britain were already producers of this valuable metal that originated the commerce.

That is sound common-sense, but M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, in his recently published volume entitled *Les Celtes*, advances the opinion that it was the metal which induced the Celts first to invade Britain. Mr. Read is content to say (p. 71), that

the existence of moulds in this country, together with an ample supply of the constituent metals, shows that bronze was from the first manufactured on the spot. It is in fact likely that foreign traders in metal were first attracted to Cornwall and other parts by the knowledge that bronze was already in use among the natives, who had discovered the ores and the secret of smelting and combining them.

Accordingly, it would seem that the people who worked the metals here were either the Iverno-Picts or the Moundsmen, or both; but what our folk-lore always says about the Fairies is that they could not stand the touch of iron, which is not equivalent to affirming them to have been fond of working in bronze; so we seem to have to associate metallurgy with the pre-Celtic Picts.

This question is approached here from another point of view also; for Mr. Read refers to the map prepared by the Hon. John Abercromby for his paper entitled *The Oldest Bronze-Age Ceramic*

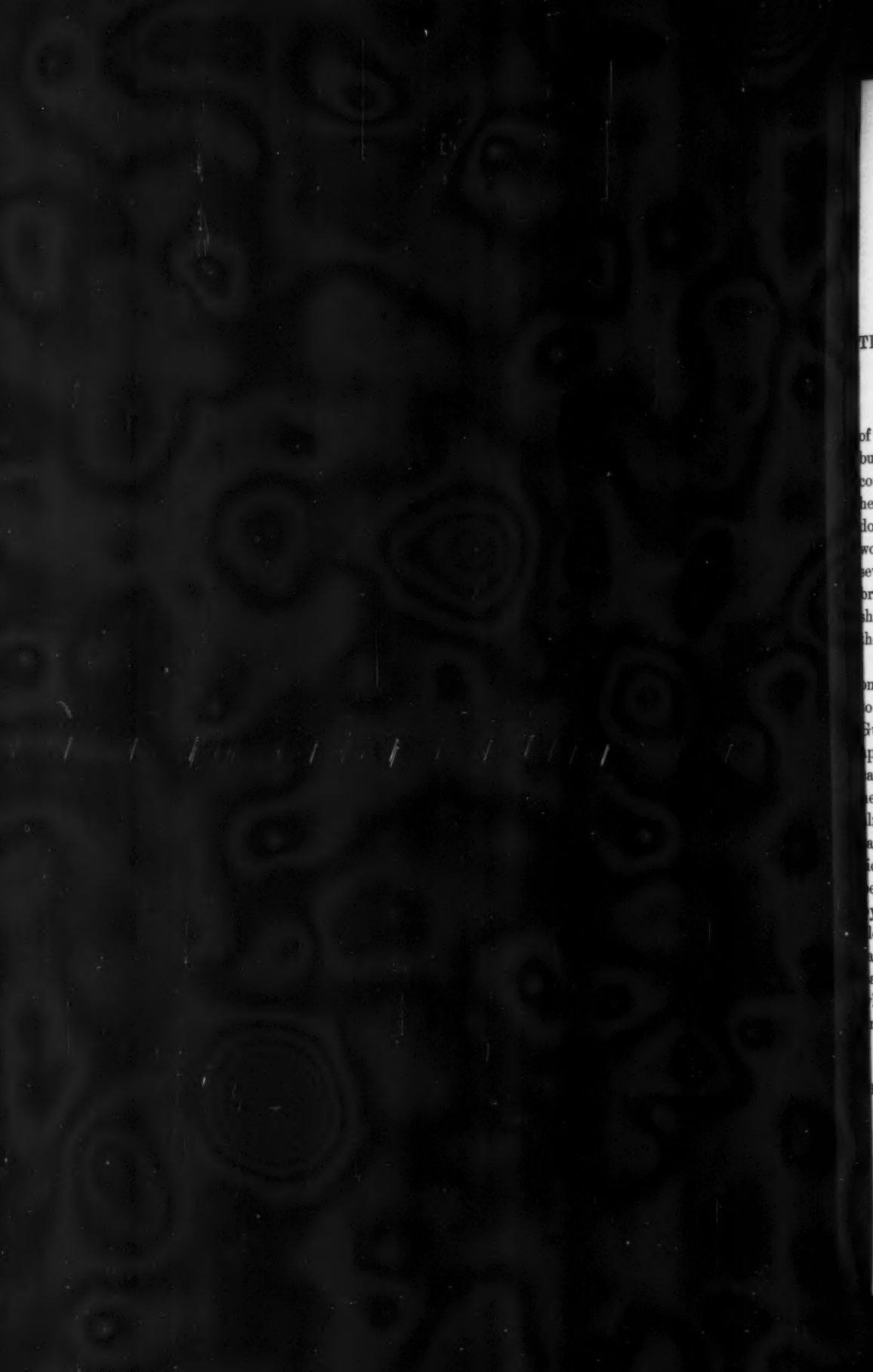
Type in Britain; Its Close Analogies on the Rhine; Its Probable Origin in Central Europe, published by the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland. Among other things, he notices how Abercromby's map represents the "drinking-cup," the earliest well-defined type of barrow pottery in this country, as occurring regularly on the east coast of Scotland and north England, with clusters also in Derbyshire and Wilts. He infers "that these vessels were introduced from Scandinavia or the Netherlands by a people scarcely acquainted with metals." Whether that people can be racially identified he leaves as a matter of doubt, but he thinks it the most probable hypothesis that they arrived before the Aryans. On the other hand, he goes on to make the following statement of his opinion (p. 25):

The Aryans who are credited with the introduction of cremation into Europe are now thought to have found the art of metal-working already established in certain parts, and to have actually retarded civilisation in the districts they appropriated. Such a view would suit the conditions in our island very well; and if 1000 B. C. be taken as a central date for the earliest cremation urns in the barrows, we may assign the "drinking-cups" and those "food-vessels" found with unburnt burials, and frequently with bronze objects, to the pre-Aryan population, in part descended from our remoter neolithic ancestors.

It is needless to say that I have not attempted to review Mr. Read's book: that would be far beyond my competence; but I hope that I have said enough to show the interest which attaches to some of the questions on which the author touches.

JOHN RHÏS.

JESUS COLLEGE, OXFORD.



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THE NEWLY DISCOVERED CHANÇUN DE WILLAME.

II.

THE analysis given of the poem shows that the two redactions of the battle of the Archamp differ not only in their geography, but in their personages as well. The two central heroes are of course common to both; aside from them, however, the lists of heroes present various differences and discrepancies which are doubtless highly significant. A fitting discussion of these points would lead us too far afield, and would at the same time offer several problems insolvable at this stage of our knowledge. A brief statement of one or two of these difficulties will serve to show what a fruitful source of inquiry is disclosed in this part of the *Chanson de Willame*.

Among the solemn injunctions sent by Vivien about to die is one to his brother Guiot, *sun petit frere*, bidding him to hasten to his rescue.¹ We are certainly warranted in expecting that Gui will accompany the expedition of relief, but he nowhere appears until the "second" expedition, the one which has been called B.² There is something suspicious in his introduction here, for his appearance in l. 1435 interrupts a passage which is almost verbatim from A. To speak more clearly, there is a passage beginning in l. 1400 and extending to 1435 which is practically identical with one occurring earlier: 1041-58. The episode beginning in l. 1435 ends at l. 1482, and is immediately followed by twenty-five lines, which, in almost identical form, occur at the close of the earlier passage mentioned. In other words, B contains about sixty lines which are found, in somewhat briefer compass it is true, in A. In A, however, these lines are continuous, while in B they are divided (at l. 1435) by the intercalation of an episode treating of Gui. At least two subsequent passages

¹ Ll. 678 ff. (cf. this JOURNAL, Vol. II, p. 5) and 968 ff.

² Ll. 1435 ff.

show something analogous in connection with this young hero. One seems obliged to admit either that B has inserted here a development of the original story, or that A, which is visibly abbreviated, formerly contained the episode.

Several other things combine to make the presence in B of Gui appear an innovation. In the passage beginning at l. 1508 we read that Gui weeps at being detained at home, while his uncle goes away to battle without the company of a single member of the family. It looks, however, from ll. 1720-22 as if he must have been accompanied by several relatives, for five of his nephews are here taken prisoners. Again, an examination of the names of the nephews who are captured shows that Gui and Guichart are never mentioned in the same list; where the one is mentioned, the other is omitted. Another point of value: Guibor says after the battle, in inquiring for the welfare of Gui, that she had intrusted him with the standard of King Mabon (the pagan enchanter?), the horse of Oliver the Gascon, and the hauberc and helm of Tibaut l'Esclavon (ll. 2357-61). Not one of these indications fits Gui, whose *adoubement* has already been described (ll. 1540-49).

The supposition that Gui figured in A and lost his life there originally is strengthened by the fact that *Foucon* and N, which here preserve an ancient version, name him as one of the three nephews who are captured. There is little doubt that these three prisoners are the three nephews who evidently all perished in the source whence A came.

The contradictions and difficulties surrounding the appearance of Gui in the *Willame* are an almost infallible sign of awkward "editing." The necessity for this may have arisen from the fact that his name occurred, under circumstances hard to reconcile, in the originals of both A and B.

The passage, ll. 1720-25, which announces the taking prisoner of the five nephews or cousins is certain to be one of the most frequently discussed in the entire epic. We are told all at once in this passage that the five heroes—Bertram, Guielin, Guischart (evidently supposed to be a different hero from the one of this name in the preceding part of the poem), Galter de Termes, and

Reiner—are seized and made prisoners by the Saracens.¹ The surprising thing about this is that not one of these heroes, as far as we are aware, has been mentioned up to this time. If any of them are originally the same as those of similar or identical name in A, the *remanieurs* certainly do not want us to suspect the fact. How can the presence of the five cousins be explained? Evidently all was clear and logical in the original sources. The apparition of these personages surprises us, not alone by its suddenness, but by the fact, already cited, that Gui has just spoken of his uncle's departing unaccompanied by any relative.² Furthermore, ll. 1671–75 certainly give the impression that Guillaume is unaccompanied by other relatives than Gui, for at the beginning of the battle he bids Gui take his position at his right hand, saying that with him he fears no treachery.³ We can with difficulty justify this language if the hero is accompanied by the faithful Bertram, not to mention the other nephews. With regard to the sudden introduction of the nephews, it stands to reason that the sources must have contained a passage or passages mentioning their presence. The omission of such passages is easily understandable, in view of the condensation which is apparent in all this part of the poem, and in view of the soldering together at this point of two redactions. We already know, in fact, that something has been lost at this point, because of the strange transfer of the action from Barcelona to Orange; we have seen Guibor at the former city, and have seen Guillaume flee thither after his defeat; we naturally suppose that he sets out

¹ This passage, the second line of which should read, *Et Guielins et Guischars li raillans*, is as follows:

1720 La fu pris le neveu Willame Bertram,
Et Guelin, et li vaillant quons Guischard,
Galter de Termes, et Reiner le combatant;
Estreit les unt liex sarazins et persant.
Veant le cunte, les meinent as chalans.
1725 Que unques de rien ne lur poet estre garant.

² Ll. 1506 ff. The three most important lines of the passage are here given:

1520 Par mi cel tertre vei mun seigneur aler.
Vilment chevalche a bataille champel,
Od lui n'ameine nul sun ami charnel.

³ It should be said that this passage occurs almost verbatim in A (ll. 465–72), where the words are directed by Vivien to Girart, and where they fit much better. The mention of treachery would be especially fitting in view of the betrayal of Tedbalt and Estormi. Several things in this scene remind one of the admirable tableau in the closing lines of the *Covenant*.

from Barcelona on his second expedition, and that he will return thither, but we learn all at once (l. 2054) that he is, in this second flight, going to Orange! It seems clear that the beginning of what we have called B has been lopped off, and that the lines cut away contained a statement that the five young heroes went with the second army, which, by the way, must have started from Orange.

The question is perhaps more complicated than is here indicated. To be sure, if B is simply derived from A, nothing seems more reasonable than to say that the three nephews who perished in A are represented in the derived poem as being taken prisoners, and that their number has increased to five. Such an increase would be thoroughly in keeping with a decadent change in the legend. But it is at least possible that some of these heroes were the companions of Guillaume in the victorious expedition which may be supposed to have closed the primitive epic. Of course, nearly everything relating to the conclusion of this poem is a matter of conjecture, but there is no doubt that the poem ended with a victory of the Christians, and it is almost equally certain that this victory was won on the very site of the defeat, in the Archamp. The primitive poem appears to have consisted of these events: the attack against Vivien in the Archamp, and his death; the tardy arrival of Guillaume; his defeat and flight to his city, where he finds that preparations have already been made for a new army, among whose leaders is Bertram and perhaps one or two other nephews; this second expedition leaves immediately, and gains a complete victory on the site of the defeat; the body of Vivien is found and buried with Christian rites.¹ The sequence of these events, even as to their

¹ Strangely enough, the sequence of events here outlined is found in Orderic Vital's account of the attempt of Alfonso of Aragon to take Fraga, 1135 A. D.; vide LE PREVOY, "Orderic Vitalis," *Hist. Eccl.*, ed. of the Soc. de l'Hist. de Fr., Vol. V, pp. 19-23, and *Prise de Cordres*, pp. xlvii-xlviii, where M. Densusianu calls attention to the resemblance between this narration and the story of *Aliscans*. This resemblance, be it noted, is much greater in the light of the *Willame* and of the reconstruction of the battle of the Archamp which imposes itself. This battle, as the writer of these lines has for some years asserted, was fought near Tolosa, on or near the Ebro, and the battle of Fraga took place not far from this spot, near the confluence of the Ebro and the Segre. The real events of the battle as fought by Alfonso were not as given by Orderic. The supposition must be that he altered them, and made them resemble the story of the defeat of Guillaume as we have outlined it, his flight, his return, his victory. Let us note, too, that the name of the Saracen chief, Alzobeyr, may have passed later into *Aliscans* as Aucebier.

conclusion, has left profound traces in *Aliscans*. In this epic, to be sure, as in the *Willame*, the primitive *dénouement* has been cut away and replaced by that of an independent poem, the *Renoart*. The main events of this latter poem, and especially its conclusion, took place at Orange, yet we find on all sides in the second part of *Aliscans* the statement that the battle that is imminent is to be fought in the Archant or in Aliscans sur mer; vide ll. 3313, 3365, 3995, 4478, 4485, 5269, etc. The ancient conclusion of the original epic is still so powerful that it drags away from the walls of Orange the triumphant Saracens, and transfers them against all rime or reason to the Archant.¹ Similarly, evidence that in one form at least of the legend the army which was to win the victory set out from Orange is seen in the absurd lengths to which the *remanieurs* have gone in making the army start from this city in *Aliscans*. These two points—the inexplicable departure of the enemy, and the incredible entry into and setting out from Orange of the Christians—go hand in hand, and both bear witness to the stubborn mold in which the ancient epic was cast.² This tenacity of the old legend, thus making itself felt through sources independent and entirely foreign, is an object-lesson in epic fusion. The circumstances indicate oral tradition acting as a conservative force, tending constantly to restore the familiar outlines. In view of the many traces of the *dénouement* of the primitive epic preserved in the conclusion of *Aliscans* and the *Willame*, what more likely than that several of the young nephews so suddenly taken prisoners are among those who accompanied Guillaume in the victorious expedition which ended the ancient poem? It may be, indeed, that all five of these heroes come from that source. The presence of the nephews being a familiar trait of the victorious expedition, their retention in some way was almost imperative. The glory of the new hero, *Renoart*, was heightened by ascribing to him the liberation of the prison-

¹ Vide "Messenger in Aliscans," *Studies and Notes in Philol. and Lit.*, Harvard University, Vol. V, p. 130.

² It is perfectly apparent, for a number of reasons, that the Christian army did not enter Orange until after the battle.

ers, who, thus set free, played, as originally, a part in the victory of the Archamp.¹

In the light of the above statements it becomes clear that what has been called B is something more than a later version of A. It appears rather to be a combination of such a later version and retainable traits of the victorious expedition which formed the solution of the primitive epic.

It will be well at this moment to mention briefly the more important episodes and events of B which seem to be derived from others in A.

One of the first things that strike us in reading the first seventeen hundred lines of the *Willame* is the repetition of whole lines and passages.² If we examine these closely, we shall find that there are more than sixty lines of what has been called A which are found again, frequently verbatim, in B. These passages concern the departure of Guillaume for the Archamp and the battle. The passages in the latter division are longer, and are at times separated into two or even three parts by the apparent insertion of an extraneous episode.³

The place of the battle (the Archamp), the spot where the engagement is joined (Terre Certaine), the name of the Saracen commander, the number of soldiers in the Christian army—all these are identical in the two expeditions which have been called A and B.⁴

The death of Vivien in A finds a pendant in B, with all of the signs characteristic of a later version.

¹ In the original story of *Renoart* there were no prisoners. The episode of the captured nephews, then, can come only from a version of the battle of the Archamp, in which, as in N and in *Foucon*, there were prisoners. As to the events of the *Renoart*, scholars will at last probably admit that they are shown with rare fidelity in N, Vol. II, pp. 481 ff. The major part of the poem is, as has been here said, preserved in the *Willame*, necessarily with many slight changes. The beginning of the poem, to the extent of about two hundred lines, is lacking in Old French, save as it is preserved at the conclusion of the *Enfances Vivien*, MS, 1448; vide the edition of WAHLUND and FEILITZEN, pp. 237 ff.

² Vide II. 465-72, 1671-78; 772-76, 912-18, 1211-15; 1041-81, 1400-31, 1483-1503; 1062-1106, 1504-7, 1561-63, 1679-1702.

³ The appearance of Gui is often the occasion for one of these interruptions, and this fact has been taken, with other things, to indicate that his rôle belonged to A.

⁴ As to the city whence the Christian armies march, in the first case it is Barcelona; in the second case the presumption is that the departure takes place from the same city. We are surprised later to learn that the hero is fleeing to Orange. If we are dealing with two redactions of the same events, one being placed after the other, the city from which departure is made in the later one is probably Orange.

The carrying back to Barcelona of the body of Guibor's nephew, Guichart, whom Guillaume had promised to bring back dead or alive, is evidently the source of the attempt of Guillaume in B to carry the body of Vivien to Orange.¹

The nephews slain in A correspond to the nephews imprisoned in B.

In both accounts the hero loses his entire army and flees alone.

Barcelona in A corresponds to Orange in B—a change highly significant in itself.

A number of minor points might be added to the above, all looking in the same direction. Similarly, an examination of the character of the hero and heroine in the two parts of the poem in question offers valuable evidence tending to show that B is, to a considerable extent, derived by natural descent from A.²

¹The awkwardness and almost grotesqueness of the attempt of the hero to carry the body of a grown man, clad in armor, from the Archamp to Orange, in the midst of thousands of enemies, has not been sufficiently noticed. The fact that such an attempt was ascribed to the hero by the *remanieurs* at a time when there was still current knowledge that the Archamp was in Spain only makes clearer the derivation of this episode from that of Guibor's nephew. Its unreasonableness is significant.

²In a few points one may suspect that omissions and alterations have destroyed further parallels. Indeed, there must have been some slight effort at editing in the combination of the two redactions. It is likely, for example, that Guibor aided in gathering the army with which the hero first sets out, as she does in the second expedition. Again, among possible changes—the result of accident or of conscious editing—the death of Deramé may have been transferred from A to B. The death of Alderufe seems an interpolated imitation of that of Deramé.

The above considerations concerning the supposed two redactions are offered as a tentative solution of what must be recognized as one of the most difficult problems of the *Chanson de Willame*. There are two strong objections against the hypothesis that B is merely a later redaction of A. In the first place, if this is the case, why is not the list of captured nephews a simple extension of the list of A? Is it sufficient to say that such is, in fact, the case, but that the second list has been "edited" for the occasion? Another objection, and one more grave: external and internal evidence indicates that the *Chanson de Guillaume* was sung for considerable time with the reduplication seen in the *Willame*—the reduplication which has been here called two redactions. It is hard to believe this possible. We can see that a given scribe might have had before him an ancient manuscript and a "contemporary" one derived therefrom through a considerable number of intermediaries. We can understand how one of these, with its center of action near Barcelona, may have seemed to the scribe a different poem from the other, whose center seemed to be at Orange. So far, so good; but how can we believe that the product of the unskillful "editing" of our scribe should obtain such vogue as to become the accredited form of the legend, for such it became? A brilliant and successful *remaniement*, the result of so careless a blunder, would be without example in the epic history of the language. *Aliscans*, be it said in passing, is derived from the reduplicated form of the legend (although *Foucon* is not), and traces of it are perhaps to be seen in the recital of Raimon Feraud, who speaks of a second defeat of the Christians in Aliscamps—which for him means at Arles—on the spot where Vivien fell, and in the *Roman d'Arles*, where the Christians are defeated and reduced to flight several times in "*Aliscam, davant Arle le Blant*;" *vide Revue des Langues Romanes*, Vol. XXXII, pp. 523, 496 ff. Note 1, p. 118, and p. xxvii, of ROLIN's ed. of *Aliscans*, are interesting here.

A number of passages of the *Chanson de Willame* will now be passed rapidly in review, either for elucidation or to draw attention to their importance for the development of the legend.

The first few hundred lines of the epic were destined soon to be lost, or, rather, as we see them in the poem, they are in the process of disappearing. Beyond doubt, in the *Chanson de Guillaume*—a title which may be taken to indicate the French original of the Norman French *Willame*—these lines existed in much clearer and more logical form. They certainly set forth the circumstances which brought on the Saracen invasion, and the episode of the cowards who abandon the young hero must have been more rationally unfolded. It is not until we reach l. 465 that we are at all on firm ground.

L. 2: The mention of Deramé as the leader of the enemy indicates that Tibaut, the legendary antagonist of Guillaume, may have disappeared from the epic stage. This point will be considered in connection with ll. 665 ff.

L. 5: At the very threshold of the poem it is stated that the scene of the invasion is the Archamp.¹ There is no escaping the overwhelming testimony of the *Willame* as to the name of the battlefield and as to the country in which this field is located.

The fact that the epic, as is evinced by the opening *laissez*, is in assonance brushes away the assertions of a certain school of critics that *Aliscans* never existed in assonance. The same critics have in general been equally unfortunate in asserting that *Aliscans* was a literary unit, the work of a single poet, and that no older form of it ever existed.²

¹ A brief statement of most of the arguments showing that this region is near Tortosa has been already given: MODERN PHILOLOGY, Vol. II, pp. 13-15. Let it be added that a valuable indication of the geography of the Archamp is to be found in the rhymed *Roland* manuscripts of Châteauroux and Venice, VII; vide *Das altfr. Rolandstied*, edited by W. FÖRSTER, Vol. VI of the *Altfr. Bibliothek*, p. 223. The Saracen fleet is approaching Spain and is to go up the Ebro (called Sebregost) to Saragossa. The pertinent lines read: "Perse constoient, l'Archant et Balagner, Et Portpalart, Orabloi et Belcler." The enemy go up the river past Tortelose, which is the usual name in Old French for Tortosa. Nearly all these names are known to us among the Catalan conquests of Vivien and Guillaume. Orabloi is the Arrabloi of *Foucon*, evidently near Candie, as is, according to the same poem, Belcler. Candie is Gandia, to the south of Catalonia, in Valencia.

² C. GADE, *Ueber Sprache u. Metrum v. Aliscans* (Marburg, 1890); E. WIENBECK, *Aliscans*, I, Dissertation (Halle, 1901), p. 3; P. RASCH, *Aliscans*, III, Dissertation (Halle, 1902), pp. 22 (cf., however, pp. 9, 10), 25; PH. AUG. BECKER, *Altfr. Wilhelmsage*, 1896, pp. 48, 103; *Zeitschr. f. rom. Phil.*, Vol. XIX, p. 114. On the other hand, JONCKBLOET, as the date

L. 15: *Entred que si mal des cunorted* is manifestly corrupt, as is shown by its obscurity, and by the fact that there are three variations of the line: *vide* 41, 962. The line probably contained a geographical name which was not understood, such as Terrascone. The epic contains a number of cases where a name has been thus altered.

L. 292 sets at rest the discussion as to whether Vivien's vow is primitive; cf. ll. 586, 597, 810, 903, 2018 ff. The usual opinion has been that the vow was not primitive.

Ll. 297-99 are of the utmost importance, giving the earliest version extant of the family descent of Vivien:

Ja fustes fiz Boeve cornebut al marchis,
Nez de la fille al bon cunte Aimeris,
Nefs Willame al curbnies le marchis.¹

Before the discovery of the *Chanson de Willame* it was admitted by all except one or two critics that the father of our young hero was not Garin, but that he was a nephew to Guillaume by a sister, thus furnishing another example of sororal nepotage. This relationship is assigned him in the *Willehalm*, in *Foucon*, and in the chronicle of Alberic des Trois Fontaines. According to the *Enfances Vivien*, the *Covenant*, *Aymeri de Narbonne*, and N, his father was Garin. *Aliscans*, in reality, makes him the son of a sister, as is indicated by l. 39 in Rolin's edition (l. 34 of the new edition of Wienbeck, Hartnacke, and Rasch), *Et a Guillaume le fil de sa soror*, one of the most valuable lines in the entire poem.² The *remanieurs* of this epic evidently knew the Garin legend, however, and endeavored to observe it, as will appear later.

which he assigns to *Aliscans* indicates, believes that the epic was first written in association: *Guill. d'Orange*, Vol. II, p. 168; similarly GUESSARD AND MONTAIGLON, in their edition of the poem, pp. xxviii, lxxvii; ROLIN, *Aliscans*, *statim*.

¹ This genealogy is repeated for Guiot later on:

1435 Del feu se dresce un suen neveu, dan Gui.
Cil fud fiz Boeve cornebut le marchis,
Nez de la fille al pruz cunte Aemeris,
Neveu Willame, al bon cunte marchis,
Et fud frere Vivien le hardiz.

² It is certainly a question here of the death of Vivien. MR. ROLIN, p. viii, n. 2, says that Milon is meant, who in the *Willehalm* is slain by Deramé. The author, however, says on p. 2, n. 8, that one must read the line: "Et dan G. Vivian, son nevolt." These passages contradict each other, but the latter has the true idea. *Foucon* contains a passage like this: *Et dit qu'il li a mort le fil de sa seror*, meaning Vivien. It may be observed, in passing, that this l. 34 shows that the nephew was already dead when the action begins. In other words, it bears witness to the same sequence of events as is found in the *Willame* and in N.

In the *Willame* the father is called "Boeve cornebut al marchis" (or "le marchis"). M. Meyer prints: "marquis Beuve Cornebut."¹ We have rather to do with a vitiation of the word Comarcis. A good deal of confusion is seen in the proper names, especially in the first part of the poem. Beuve de Comarcis appears by name several times: "Boeves de Somarchiz, quons la cité" (l. 2560), "quons Boeves de Cormarchiz sun frere" (l. 2930), "li quons Boeve de Comarchis le ber" (l. 2985). The *Willame* makes Vivien and Guiot sons of Beuve de Comarcis by a daughter of Aymeri. It is implied, further, that Beuve is dead (l. 297), which not only explains how the sons could be brought up by Guibor, but lends a fuller meaning to l. 827 of *Aliscans*, where Guillaume says to his dying nephew: *Je suis tes oncles, n'as ore plus prochain*. The mention of Beuve in the *Willame* is the earliest in the French sources. This hero does not appear in either the *Fragment de la Haye* or in the *Pélerinage*. In the opinion of Mr. O. Densusianu, Beuve was not admitted to the epic family of Guillaume until the twelfth century.² The mention in the first part of the *Willame* offers a redaction which goes back to the eleventh. In the second part Beuve is a brother of Guillaume.³ We thus see going on before our eyes in the *Willame* the formation of an epic family.⁴ Beuve is first said to have married a sister of the great hero; he is then called a brother. Just why Beuve was replaced by Garin is not clear at this stage of our information, but the explanation may be wrapped up in the history of Beuve and his two alleged sons, Gui and Girart.⁵

¹ *Loc. cit.*, p. 609.

² *Romania*, Vol. XXV, p. 495; *Prise de Cordres*, p. xxxvi, n. 1.

³ Beuve says, l. 2561: *Jo sui sun frere, se ne li puis faillir*. Cf. l. 2930.

⁴ Cf. G. PARIS, *Romania*, Vol. IX, pp. 38, 39.

⁵ M. A. JEANROY, *Romania*, Vol. XXVI, p. 198, n. 4, speaks of the late ascription to Vivien of Garin as father. He rightly says also that *Aliscans* does not state this relationship. He commits an oversight, however, in his table, p. 207, where the epic in question is said to ascribe to our young hero Garin. It is not impossible that at one time Ernaut was said to be the father of Vivien. This would explain the strange Viviano della ciera grilagnia mentioned as a son of Ernaut. For this name vide O. DENSUSIANU, *Prise de Cordres*, p. viii. A second son is named Guidolino, which is an equivalent for Guiot. Andrea may have found sources setting forth this relationship, and he may not have understood that the heroes were the same. It may be observed, in passing, that Beuve d'Aigremont has a son Vivien, and that Vivien's brother, Guichart, is called in *Foucon* G. de Montagu: p. 111, ed. TABBE.

LL. 349 ff.: We see here Tedbalt and Estormi, his nephew, who abandon Vivien. Girart is following them, why we know not, nor did we know him to be present. Can he be fleeing with the others? The circumstances of a scene in the *Enfances Vivien*—a scene evidently derived from this one—enlighten us somewhat.¹ Girart is here replaced by Bertran (*vide Enfances*, ll. 3562 ff.), who has not yet been armed knight. He sees all about him preparations for a battle, in which, not being allowed to bear arms, he can take no part. His request to be armed knight is refused, and a few moments later he sees, among those who are to have the honor of fighting, Estormi, *le plus coart chevalier de Berri*. His sense of justice runs away with him, he knocks Estormi from the saddle, and seizes his arms and horse. These events in the newer poem explain why Girart is following the cowards in l. 349 of the *Willame*. It is Tedbalt and not Estormi whom Girart throws from his horse and disarms, according to the latter poem. As soon as Tedbalt is able to rise, he springs on the pack horse, which Girart has left instead of his mount, and is forced, in his mad flight, to dash through a flock of sheep, one of which is caught in his stirrup. When he reaches the bridge at Bourges, the head of the sheep alone remains in the stirrup. This comical scene is immediately followed by another, in which the young hero inflicts somewhat similar indignities upon Estormi.

It will be noted that in the *Enfances* the hero of the sheep is Estormi, not Tedbalt. Furthermore, in the *Enfances* there is only one episode, that of the seizure of the arms. At its close the statement is made that Estormi later, *En la bataille Vivien lou vaillant*, in the sight of thousands of knights, fled on horseback, dragging a sheep at his stirrup.² The *Enfances* are probably right in ascribing the episodes to Estormi, and the older poem wrong in its mention of Tedbalt. A number of points indicate this. The two episodes did not occur originally in the same poem. The seizing of the arms occurred probably in the primitive *Enfances Vivien*, and the other scene in the *Bataille de*

¹ M. MEYER draws attention to the relationship between these two scenes: *loc. cit.*, p. 604, n. 3.

² *Enfances*, V, ll. 3805 ff. *Destrier*, in l. 3810, should be *estrier*.

l'Archamp. The present poem places them side by side. Under these circumstances it was impossible for Estormi to be the actor in both, as a moment's reflection will show.¹

Ll. 370 ff.: It is a question here of a famous shield which Vivien took in the battle as *prez de Girunde*, spoken of later (ll. 635 ff.) as the *champ del Saraguce*. He boasts of having slain in that fight Alderufe, and the twelve sons of Borrel. The epic in which these events were sung has been lost. The mention of Borrel is to be placed by the side of that in the *Fragment*, and offers an unexpected support of the suggestion of G. Paris that the siege and battle of the *Fragment* were drawn from a poem, the *Prise de Girone*.² H. Suchier has recently tried to prove that the battle of the *Fragment* was probably at Narbonne, but his learned argument failed to carry conviction before the discovery of the *Willame*, and is now indefensible.³ The only thing which could make one hesitate to see in the passage under discussion a reference to the battle of the *Fragment* is the mention in l. 635 of the site of the struggle as the *champ del Saraguce*. If we have to choose between Girone and Saragossa, we shall have to incline in favor of the former, in view of the evidence offered by G. Paris. Again, considering the alterations in proper names which mark the first part especially of the poem, the words

¹ A number of minor points help out this reasoning, showing that Estormi, and not Tedbalt, fled, a son *estrier un mouton trainant*. The two *laissez* in -i are perhaps suggestive; the matter of the *gunfanum* (ll. 262, 278, 280, 286), reminds one of the passage in the *Enfances* where they say to Estormi that henceforth he is to bear the olifant, that they will witness his prowess, and later that of the one who took his arms (ll. 3793-3800); we note precisely this sequence in the *Willame*, for, after having seen the cowardice of Estormi, we read the excellent lines where Vivien, abandoned by Estormi and the cowards, bids Girart take position at his right hand, wave his *gunfanum*; with him Vivien has no fear of treachery; it is to be noted, too, that references to the gentle birth and wealth of the actor in the scene with the sheep (*vide* ll. 402-4, 464) favor Estormi: cf. *Enfances*, ll. 3813-15; finally, it is likely that the puzzling l. 3053 of *Aliscans*—*Est ce la fable du tor et du mouton*—should read: *Est ce la fable Estormi al mouton*. This is not the occasion to discuss the question whether the major part of the episodes where Tedbalt and Estormi appear are not drawn from the lost *Enfances*; there are constant reminders of the present *Enfances* and of the expeditions for the relief of Vivien in Galicia, in N; cf., for instance, ll. 449 ff. with N, Vol. I, pp. 481 ff., and *vide*, for the expedition of relief in the modern *Enfances*, W. CLOETTA, "Die Enf. Viv.," *Romanische Studien*, Heft IV (Berlin, 1898), pp. 50-59. These episodes of the cowards in the *Willame* were really of a fine literary quality, as their present defaced condition still allows us to see. Ll. 240 ff., for example, are of an excellent comic effect, while ll. 402-4 afford a distinct glimpse into the social conditions under which the *chanson* was sung.

² *Histoire Poétique*, pp. 50, 51, 84-86; *Romania*, Vol. IX, pp. 39, 40.

³ *Les Narbonnais*, Vol. II, pp. lxvi ff.

champ del Saraguçe may possibly be an echo of the French for *campi strigilis*, the mysterious appellation of the fields near the city in the Latin of the *Fragment*.

The shield taken is evidently that of Alderufe, and we find here the earliest mention of the famous armor of Aerofle.¹ It is now apparent that the legend which makes this hero fall by the hand of Guillaume, and which has passed, in what some scholars have accepted as authoritative form, into the *Moniage*, I,² does not possess the ancient value frequently ascribed to it. We shall find this account, however, in a subsequent passage of the *Chançon de Willame*.

Ll. 473: This scene seems to be that of a column of relief, rather than that of a division of Vivien's army. Note, too, that ll. 452 ff. are the first of a series in which the young hero seems to be expecting immediate aid.

Ll. 479, 480: A corruption of the name Willame Ferebrace.

Ll. 622 ff.: These lines begin one of the most valuable passages in the entire epic, for in the charge which Vivien gives Girart occur a number of references to past events, several of which are unknown to us from the existing *chansons de geste*. One of these allusions (ll. 635 ff.) has already been mentioned. With regard to the horse of Girart (l. 630), N shows us that Vivien had just enabled his cousin to mount a captured horse.³

L. 633: *Que par la lune me alasses a Willame*, a somewhat striking line in its present form, contains a corruption of a proper name, and should read: *a Barzelune* (cf. ll. 931, 932). There is no moon whatever in the recital of Girart's journey. He sets out at once, by day. What city is meant by "Limenes" in l. 650

¹ Before the appearance of *Willame* the author had gathered the material for an article on this hero, and had decided that the celebrated episode of *Aliscans* was spurious, in that Aerofle had originally been slain by Bertran or, possibly, by Vivien, and not by Guillaume. We now see that Alderufe is probably the legendary enemy of Vivien, called in N Maltribol. The disappearance of the poem in which Vivien slew him, as above said, allowed him to be depicted in a series of passages as living and as Vivien's great enemy. One of these later, yet very ancient, legends represented the two heroes as killing each other in battle (cf. N and the *Willhelm*). The legend of *Aliscans* is relatively modern. See later for this event in the *Willame*.

² W. CLOETTA, "Die beiden altfranzösischen Epen von Moniage Guillaume," *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. XCIII, p. 434. MR. PH. A. BECKER rightly judges this passage: *Altfranzösische Wilhelmage*, p. 102.

³ Vol. II, p. 156.

(cf. l. 988) is not clear. M. Meyer suggests as a possibility Luiserne, but this is inadmissible, being a late legend and a conquest made for Vivien himself, not for his uncle. It will be noticed that he mentions no battle fought in his own interest. Nismes would be a better venture than Luiserne, in spite of the newness of the legend ascribing to Guillaume the conquest of that city.¹ The references in ll. 651, 652 are obscure, as is the strange name *Turlenlerei* (l. 655), written *Turleislerei* in l. 978. One thinks at once of the episode at Tours, in the *Couronnement*, where Louis was present, but there was no pitched battle on that occasion, and no Saracens. According to MS C, however, Vivien was with his uncle. The faithful friend Raher (l. 662; Rahel, l. 984) may be Rabel, considered a cousin of Vivien. The ll. 665-75 are among the most important in the poem.² They contain an account of a battle fought with Tibaut under the walls of Orange. This battle is nothing less than the one which closed the long siege of the city, and as described in the eleven lines of this passage the events are almost exactly as related in N.³ The passage tells us: that the battle took place at Orange; that the leader of the enemy was Tedbald l'Esturman; that the French were victorious, largely through the efforts of Vivien, who arrived with his uncle Bernard de Bruban, and who had as his companion Bertram, one of the bravest of heroes; that Vivien was aided by the Normans; and that he slew there Tedbald. The account of N differs in the following points: Vivien comes to join the Christian army at its rallying-place, Pierrelate, in company with Bertram, Almer, and others. (The entire army then proceeds to Orange, hence it is possible that Vivien and Bertran arrived with Bernard, as above.) We know that *Aliscans* preserves evidence that Bertran conducted his father's troops.⁴ Nothing is said in N of the Normans.⁵ Vivien wounds Tibaut, thus closing the

¹ Perhaps the earliest ascription to our hero of the conquest of this city is in the *Codex de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle*, pub. by F. FITA AND J. VINSON (Paris, 1882), p. 27. The date of this compilation is about 1130.

² Quoted by M. MEYER, *loc. cit.*, p. 606.

³ Vol. I, pp. 499 ff.

⁴ Ll. 4929-31. Cf. *Romania*, Vol. XXVIII, pp. 127, 128; *Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, p. 29.

⁵ It is interesting to note, however, what is said of the arrival at court of Bernard and the other brothers: "tutti si ritrovarono a la corte, con molti altri signori di ponente" (*loc. cit.*, p. 456). This, of course, does not in any way indicate that Bernard had with him a division of Normans.

battle, but does not kill him. It will be seen that this last is the only divergence of importance between the two stories.¹

This priceless passage thus bears out the account of the battle which ends the long siege in N, and bears it out with a fidelity which inspires confidence in the remainder of the story as given by Andrea da Barberino. A more complete justification could hardly be looked for. With the siege thus established in its main lines, with accumulating evidence to prove the expedition of Vivien to Galicia and his conquest of the Catalonian cities, the critical worth of the *Storie Nerbonesi* is shown beyond peradventure, and a new era in the studies on Guillaume has indeed arrived.²

L. 787 shows that Vivien slays the one who has given him his death wound. This, as has already been said, is a very ancient version, and appears in N and in the *Willehalm*.

L. 932: *Li quons Willame ert a Barzelune*. This line and

¹Few additions to our knowledge brought by the *Willame* are more significant for the development of epic legends in Old French than this, that Tibaut originally perished in the battle which closed the siege. The fact that later legends brought him to life again testifies not only to the value of his personality from the literary standpoint, but to a temporary decadence in the poems which sang of Guillaume, for, if these poems had been continuous in their popularity, it would have been more difficult to accomplish his revival. As it was, he was so effectually revived that the only trace of his original demise in existence today in Old French is a single line of the *Chanson de Willame*. A glance at *Foucon*, N, and the *Willehalm*, to mention no other sources, indicates the use made of him in later poems. The language of the *Vita*, interpreted literally, would, as JONCKBLOET (*Guill. d'Orange*, Vol. II, p. 69) rightly observes, allow us to suppose that Tibaut perished in the battle before Orange: "Willelmus . . . ad urbem Arausicam agmina disponit et castra, quam illi Hispani cum suo Theobaldo jam pridem occupaverant, ipsam facile ac brevi caesis atque fugatis eripit invasoribus." PH. A. BECKER, *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, p. 36, does not think that Tibaut perished at the siege, and such has always been the author's opinion. MR. BECKER, however, in his *Altfranz. Sagenkreis*, p. 50, places correctly Deramé as the leader of the Saracens in the Archamp; cf. also his fuller statement, *Südfranz. Sagenkreis*, pp. 57, 58, an analysis whose only errors are the insertion of Garin and Hunaut.

This is not the occasion for a summary of the evidence that establishes fully the account of the siege in N, nor for a discussion of the presence or absence of Tibaut in *Aliscans*. Let it be said, however, that the continued existence of this hero was facilitated by the fact that a portion of the *Siège d'Orange*, in which he played the great rôle among the Saracens, was combined with other elements to form the conclusion of *Aliscans*. The first part of this epic came from the battle which opens the *Willame*; Tibaut was dead, and is not mentioned. He does, however, appear in the conclusion of *Aliscans*, and is among those who escape.

²The comment of PH. A. BECKER on the account of N, *Quellenwert der Storie N.*, pp. 32 ff., is instructive reading, and inspires melancholy thoughts as to literary research. See also the concluding sentence of the volume, p. 50: "Wir haben die Frage aufgeworfen, welchen Wert die *Storie Nerbonesi* als Quelle für die Vorgeschichte der altfranzösischen Heldendichtung haben mögen. Ich antworte: Keinen!" One is reminded of Jeffrey's "This will never do!"

the preceding, which also mentions Barcelona, establish the statement of N.¹

L. 935: The hero is said to have just returned from a severe battle at Bordeaux, where he lost a large part of his men. He mentions this loss in l. 1017. We know, in fact, that there figured anciently in the career of Guillaume an expedition to this city.² The *Covenant* may show a knowledge of this expedition, if we are to judge by ll. 837-40 of that poem.

Ll. 960 ff.: These lines repeat the message as given at the beginning of the epic, and present the form in which the first announcement of the invasion may have reached the hero at Orange, according to N.

L. 962: This line has already been shown to be corrupt. No authority whatever attaches to the word *France* here.

Ll. 1010-12: This passage is important, indicating a stage of the story at which the heroine had recently assumed allegiance to the family of the hero. L. 994 (cf. l. 684) offers no objection to this supposition, since it presents a mere commonplace.

L. 1073: *I dunc a primes fu Girard adubé* squares with what has preceded. We have seen him seize the arms of Estormi, and have shown by the *Enfances* that he was not yet a knight. Two other passages are to be cited in this connection: l. 459, where Vivien says to him, seeing him arrayed in his stolen armor, *Cosin Girard, des quant ies chevalier?* and l. 928, where he is qualified as *esquier*.

L. 1107: *Les sarazins de Segune tere*: "Segune tere" may be a corruption for *Terrascone*, *Terragone*, the name for Terragona. If we examine the passage in question, we shall see that the Saracens of or from "Segune tere" attack Guillaume first, and that they inflict on him fatal injury. If we turn to the story as told by N, we find that the enemy landed in several detachments, and that the one which landed at Terragona arrived later than the others, hence took no part in the defeat of Vivien, but

¹ Vol. II, p. 160: "Passato Guicciardo [Girart] tutta l'oste per virtù del buon cavallo, la notte vegniente giunse a Barzalona, e raccontò tutta la imbasciata al conte Guglielmo." In a number of articles the author has asserted that the account of N was correct; *vide*, for instance, *Origin of the Cov. Viv.*, p. 40.

² *Couronnement L.*, ll. 2020 ff.; cf. *Charroi*, l. 158, *Chrestom.*, of P. MEYER, p. 244.

that it came fresh to the field at the very moment of the approach of Guillaume. The text says: "costò il loro tardare caro a Guglielmo, come seguirà."¹ In fact, they attack the Christian army, and are one of the main causes of its destruction. The words just quoted are to be compared with ll. 1117 ff.: *Par icels orrez dolereuses noveles*, etc.

Ll. 1211 ff.: These lines, which have a fine epic ring, have already been applied to Vivien: ll. 772 ff., 912 ff.

Ll. 1228 ff.: In her husband's absence Guibor has raised a new army—an act which may be of value in determining the matter of two redactions. Before his first departure, we were told that he had lost a large part of his men, yet he goes away with thirty thousand, and we do not know how he has obtained them. It is likely that Guibor is there, as here, the means of procuring fresh troops. We may well infer also from a subsequent passage (ll. 2379 ff.) that, after his second defeat, she has made some preparation for a new army. She plays the same rôle in a familiar passage of the *Covenant*.²

L. 1254: The mention of Louis as a possible participant in the battle is of great value, and reminds us at once of the first three lines of the epic, where it is said that Deramé made war on Louis, *nostre empereur*.

Ll. 1257-68, cited by M. Meyer (*loc. cit.*, p. 608), are of the greatest importance, as showing what epics were sung at the time; they treated of Clovis (whose baptism is mentioned), Floovent, Pepin, Charlemagne, Roland, Olivier, and Girart de Vienne—a refreshing and inspiring list.

L. 1288, *Ja Vivien le cunte vif mes ne verras*, like all the passages announcing the death of the young hero, cannot be too closely examined, for they touch vitally the question of two redactions. We have apparently been present at Vivien's death: ll. 912-27—a passage which has double weight because it repeats ll. 772 ff., which we have already seen to contain the traditional death scene. His death is mentioned in other passages of

¹ Vol. II, p. 151.

² Ll. 1124 ff. The proprietary interest which she manifests in the troops of her husband is clearly seen in *Atiscans*.

"redaction A": ll. 1311, 1372; ll. 1469 and 1596, 1597 should be mentioned also in this category.

Ll. 1321-23 offer good evidence that the epic traditions of the family of Guillaume were well established, and that various poems must have been known for a long time previous to the date of the composition of the *Willame*. Indeed, there is evidence on every side which indicates that the *geste* had long since attained a bountiful development.

Ll. 1351 ff.: Guibor asks permission to deceive the assembled knights: *Ore me laissez mentir*, etc. It is interesting to note that Guichart, her nephew, shows a similar aptitude: *Jo sai mentir* (l. 1533). Is it going too far to say that there is here some slight evidence of *la nouvelle convertie* of whom we have already spoken? In the case of Guichart, as the events prove, there can be no doubt; he has received merely a varnish of Christianity. The portrait of Guibor which the poem offers deserves to rank among the celebrated ones of Old French literature. What an admirable scene, for example, occurs in ll. 1361 ff., where, immediately after the terrible news of disaster and death, she mounts the stairs singing, charms the knights, and persuades them to enlist under the banner of her defeated lord, flashing before their eyes the prospect of easy victory, of gold and silver, rich lands and beautiful brides! Small wonder that many a one yielded

Qui en l'Archamp perdi puis la teste!

RAYMOND WEEKS.

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"DER BESTRAFTE BRUDERMORD" AND ITS RELATION TO SHAKESPEARE'S "HAMLET."¹

It is well known that a German dramatization (D) of the Hamlet story has been preserved, which H. A. O. Reichard first published in the form of an abstract in 1779 and two years later in full. It was based on a MS of the year 1710 which is now lost and which was entitled *Tragoedia Der bestrafte Brudermord oder Prinz Hamlet aus Dännemark*. In the main outlines of the action as well as in many details it agrees with Shakespeare. Most of the characteristics which D has in common with Shakespeare are found in the quarto edition of *Hamlet* of the year 1604 (B), containing practically the current text, and also in the quarto edition of 1603 (A), based, as is well known, on a very careless copy that an unscrupulous bookseller had ordered someone to prepare during a performance. D has, however, also some characteristics found only in B and others which appear only in A.

There is no doubt whatsoever, nor has anyone ever denied, that D is one of those dramas which during the florescence of the English theater were taken from England to Germany by traveling companies of actors, and there subjected to all sorts of changes, chiefly distortions. But there is still a great divergence of opinion as to the nature of the English drama upon which the German is based.

Some assert that D is based on the lost pre-Shakespearean tragedy of *Hamlet*, now usually ascribed to Thomas Kyd (Z), although perhaps many special features of Shakespeare's tragedy may have been introduced into the German adaptation of the older drama. This view I shall not discuss in detail in the following paragraphs, as its erroneousness must be at once evident to anyone competent to judge. Although those parts of D which diverge from Shakespeare can be proved to be additions such as the

¹In this article I confirm and defend my views on *Der bestrafte Brudermord* which I discussed in detail in *Berichte der philol.-histor. Classe der Königl. Sächs. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften*, 1887, pp. 1 f., and in *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten, Deutsche National-literatur*, Vol. XXIII (1889).

traveling players in Germany inserted in other stock pieces coming from England, those scholars who see traces of the pre-Shakespearean *Hamlet* in D claim that they can show in the parts of D not agreeing with Shakespeare traces of Kyd's taste. The falsity of their arguments I have exposed elsewhere;¹ here I wish to point out only that the prologue of the Furies upon which the adherents of this view lay especial emphasis does not belong originally to D, but was added later by the actors in Germany, as is evident from several passages which are absolutely out of accord with the play itself.²

Still more erroneous of course is the assumption of the adherents of this view that Z is the source of the parts of D which agree with Shakespeare, thus making of Shakespeare a plagiarist and of the author of Z one of the greatest poets of all time. Schick, for example, concludes unhesitatingly from D that the traditional legend had been so altered in Z that Hamlet does not reach his goal by means of clever simulation, but meets a tragic end. I think there can be no doubt that when Shakespeare, during his gloomy period, created a new *Hamlet* tragedy, he treated the traditional story in the same manner as he did the legend of *King Lear* about that very time. In both instances he changed the happy ending to a tragic one, and at the same time modified the traditional character of the main persons in such a way that the tragic outcome seems like an inherent necessity.

I may limit myself, then, to a discussion of the views of those who derive D from Shakespeare's *Hamlet*.

A typical peculiarity of A, found again in the *dramatis personae* of D, namely that Polonius is called Corambus (in A Corambis), caused formerly several superficial observers to assume that D is based on A. Some there were, however, and Dyce among them, who noticed certain points of agreement between D

¹Cf. *Berichte*, pp. 23 f., and *Schauspiele der englischen Komödianten*, pp. 131 f. I may add here that *kronschichtig* (D, I, 5) is a catch-word used in Dutch tragedies and thence transplanted into Germany about the middle of the seventeenth century.

²If there is in D, as some suppose, an allusion to Drake's return from his ill-starred expedition to Portugal—i. e., to an event that was ostensibly contemporary with the appearance of Z—I must add to what I have already said that Drake returned in June, 1580, and that on August 23 GREENE's *Menaphon* was entered in the Stationers' Register. In NASH's preface to this work is found the oldest known allusion to Z. The event, the allusion in Z, and NASH's reference must have followed one another with remarkable rapidity.

and B. Dyce surmised therefore that the author of the German version used the current text (B) as well as A. Genée expressed a similar view, and the opinion that D is based on A, but includes also some of the peculiarities of B, was shared, so far as I know, by most competent judges until 1887, when I expressed the opinion that D is based on a lost version of Shakespeare's text (Y), which was used in the performances of the Shakespeare troupe and which had the peculiarities of both A and B. Furthermore, I stated that Y was closely related to B which reproduces practically the authentic Shakespeare text, but that Y in view of its stage production had contained some modifications; and that these were also transferred to A, which is based on a copy made in the theater. We know that such copies were prepared at that time in the theaters by the assistants of unscrupulous booksellers. Of course, there can be no doubt that such an assistant reproduced in a very careless way what he heard on the stage, very often abridging and distorting it. But in those instances in which A agrees with D and not B we may suppose, according to my view, that the divergence from B is to be explained not on the basis of arbitrariness or carelessness, but that it goes back to Y, or, in other words, that it is a faithful reproduction of what was heard upon the stage. On this account D is of importance in the history of the text of the Shakespearean tragedy; in some points of D likewise which agree neither with A nor B we may suppose that the old English stage-tradition has been retained by D.

A year after my publication of this view Tanger objected to it.¹ Tanger holds that D is based essentially on A. He thinks that the traits in D which point back to B are not so numerous by far as my compilation would make them appear; and that, as a matter of fact, there are only "exceedingly few traits which remind one of B." Moreover, these characteristics are not to be traced back to their source, he says, but are rather subsequent additions to the German adaptation, due to the stage tradition which was ever and again enlivened by English players.

In the first place, Tanger overlooks this fact: the supposition that the English companies in Germany used A as a basis of their

¹In the *Jahrbuch der deutschen Shakespeare-Gesellschaft*, Vol. XXIII (1888), pp. 224 f.

performances is at the outset very improbable. This edition contains, to be sure, the essential features of the action as does B, but it is improbable that the actors, if they did use a printed edition, would have selected this bad text, which was mutilated beyond recognition in many places, and of which only one single edition was extant, when numerous editions of the better text could be had. On the other hand, the supposition that D is based on a MS written in the theater must seem very plausible from the outset to anyone familiar with the history of the German stage during the period we are discussing. Such MSS must be assumed without any doubt in the case of a large number of stock-pieces played by the English companies. The *Tragoedia von Barrabas, Juden in Malta*, for example, was performed in Dresden in 1626, although the original, Marlowe's *Rich Jew*, was not published before 1633. Machin's *Dumb Knight* was entered on the Stationers' Register in 1608, but Ayrrer, who died in 1605, had rendered it into German. Other English dramas performed in Germany, such as Peele's *Mahomet* and those dramas on which *Tugend und Liebesstreit*, *Sidea*, *Julius und Hippolyte* are based, were not printed at all.

Peculiar also is the manner in which Tanger attempts to substantiate his view that the points of agreement with B can be explained through later interpolations of a text based on A. First of all he tries to show that twenty of the many points of agreement between D and B which I enumerated¹ are not conclusive. He can do this somewhat easily, for I said that I would present not only those points of agreement which show an indisputable connection, but also those that may possibly be due to mere chance. After eliminating all the cases which in his opinion belong to the latter class, Tanger himself admits three or rather four cases in which the agreement cannot possibly be attributed to chance.

3. The speech of the king at his first entrance begins as follows in D, I, 7:

Obschon unseres Herrn Bruders Tod noch in frischem Gedächtniss bey jedermann ist und uns gebietet alle Solennitäten einzustellen, werden wir doch anjetzo genöthiget, unsere schwarze Trauerkleider in Carmosin,

¹In the following paragraphs I have numbered these coincidences exactly as in the *Berichte*, pp. 15 f.

Purpur und Scharlach zu verändern, weil nunmehr meines seeligen Herrn Bruders hinterbliebene Wittwe unsere liebste Gemahlin worden; darum erzeige sich ein jeder freudig und mache sich unser Lust theilhaftig.

These words are taken, of course, from the speech of King Claudius, B, I, 2, 1 f.: "Though yet of Hamlet our dear brothers death . . . Taken to wife"—words which are not found in A.

11. In D, III, 9, mad Ophelia cries: "Siehe da, mein Kütschchen, mein Kütschchen;" in B, IV, 5, 70: "Come my coach"—again wanting in A.

20.¹ The name Francisco occurs in D and B, but not in A. In A the soldiers on guard are not called by name; in B they are called Barnardo and Francisco; in D as in A they have no names, but the officer who enters later on is called Francisco, while in A and B his name is Marcellus.

7. In D, II, 7, Hamlet says to the actors: "Ich bin ein grosser Liebhaber eurer Exercitien und meine es nicht übel, denn man kann in einem Spiegel seine Flecken sehen." This passage is evidently a distortion of Hamlet's words at the corresponding place in B, III, 2, 23: "Playing, whose end both at the first, and now, was and is, to hold as twere the Mirrour up to nature, to shew vertue her feature," etc. In A the comparison of the mirror is entirely wanting. Tanger is uncertain whether he should count this point of agreement among the class from which the element of chance is eliminated, but surely there would be no doubt in the mind of anyone else.

Besides these three, or rather four, instances, whose coincidence, as Tanger himself admits, cannot possibly be due to chance, I shall set down a few more, the agreement of which cannot be accidental, as all except Tanger will doubtless admit.

4. When the king hears of Laertes's journey, he asks Corambus in D: "Ist es mit Eurem *Consens* geschehen?" whereupon Corambus answers with a few puns on "Consens." In B, I, 2, 58, Polonius answers:

[He] Hath my Lord wroung from me my slowe leaue
By laboursome petition, and at last
Vpon his will I seald my hard *consent*,
I doe beseech you give him leaue to go.

¹Cf. *Berichte*, p. 36.

In A 162 Corambis answers:

He hath, my lord, wrung from me a forced graunt
And I beseech you grant your Highnesse leaue.

Tanger thinks it is mere accident that *Consens* in D and *consent* in B are in corresponding places, and refers to the fact that elsewhere in D the tendency to use foreign words is manifest—a tendency widespread in Germany at the beginning of the eighteenth century. But why was this particular word used in this particular place? Why is it exactly the same foreign word as in the English text, and not one of the numerous others that might have suited the context equally well, as for example *Permiss*, *Sanction*, *Concession*, *Approbation*? Chance? Believe it who will.

13. In D, IV, 5, the king says to Leonhardus (Laertes) that it is hard to get justice on Hamlet because his mother "backs" him and the common people love him dearly. In the corresponding place of B, IV, 7, 11, he tells Laertes that he has spared Hamlet for two reasons:

The Queene his mother
Liues almost by his lookes, etc.
... the other motiue
Why to a publique count I might not goe,
Is the great loue the generall gender beare him.

All this is wanting in A. In order to remove the supposition that there is any connection between B and D at this place, Tanger refers to the great court scene in A where, though in an entirely different connection, Hamlet is designated by the King at the beginning of the tragedy, as "the Ioy and halfe heart of your mother" and as "Denmarkes hope." In this way Tanger thinks he has demonstrated the possibility of an accidental agreement. Refutation of this argument seems superfluous.

17. In D, V, 6, before the fencing scene begins, Hamlet makes apologies for his deficient practice in the art of fencing. Leonhardus replies: "Ich bin Ihro Durchlaucht Diener, Sie scherzen nur." Similarly he answers in B, V, 2, 268: "You mock me, Sir." These words are wanting in A. Here too Tanger says the coincidence is nothing but a matter of chance. The only proof

that he can cite is that in A also Hamlet speaks of his lack of skill in fencing and that "Sie scherzen nur" and "you mock me" do not mean exactly the same thing. Again it suffices to repeat his argumentation, without entering upon any refutation.

19. In D and B Hamlet expresses the wish before dying that Fortinbras (in D Fortempras) may succeed him; in A no such wish is mentioned. Tanger points out that the manner in which Fortinbras is declared successor in D is entirely different from that in B. But this fact no one denies; it is, moreover, easily accounted for in D, which has been considerably remodeled. Tanger cannot prove, then, that this agreement of D and B as against A is a matter of chance.

Besides these eight indubitable cases I shall quote a few more that show agreement between D and B. Though the element of chance may not be absolutely eliminated from them, yet it is in my opinion highly improbable that the agreement is accidental.

1. In B, I, 1, 8, Francisco says:

—tis bitter cold
And I am sick at hart.

In D, I, 1, 11, the first sentinel says:

Ob es gleich kalt ist, so hab ich doch hier einen Höllenschweiss ausgehalten.

In A no mention is made of the cold in the first nor in the later terrace scene, though in the latter place Hamlet comments on the sharp wind.

2. In D, I, 5, the ghost begins his disclosures with these words:

Höre mich, Hamlet, denn die Zeit kommt bald, dass ich mich wieder an denselben Ort begeben muss, wo ich hergekommen.

Similarly the ghost says in B, I, 5, 2:

My houre is almost come
When I to sulphrus and tormenting flames
Must render vp myselfe.

These lines are wanting in A. Again Tanger supposes that it is accidental. He says:

Is it conceivable that the author of D would have neglected the

appeal to popular belief contained in the words "to sulphurous and tormenting flames"?

The omission of this phrase is sufficiently explained by the decidedly North German Protestant tone of D elsewhere evident, which would not have tolerated for a moment such a concession to the Catholic doctrine of purgatory.

6. In D, II, 6, and B, II, 2, 623, Hamlet expresses in a monologue the wish that the actors might perform something similar to the murder of his father. This does not appear in A.

9. After the abrupt termination of the inserted drama Hamlet says to Horatio in D, II, 8:

Sahet ihr, wie der König sich entfärbte, als er das Spiel sahe!
Horatio: Ja, Ihro Durchlaucht, die That ist gewiss. Hamlet: [Er hat]
Eben also meinen Vater getödtet, wie ihr in diesem Schauspiel gesehen.
In B, III, 2, 298, Hamlet says:

Did'st perceive? Horatio: Very well my Lord. Hamlet: Vpon the
talke of the poysning. Horatio: I did very well note him.
All this is wanting in A.

14. In D, V, 2, and B, V, 2, Hamlet tells Horatio how he escaped the attempts on his life during his journey to England; in A this is told less emphatically in the conversation between Horatio and the Queen. In D and B Hamlet indicates during his talk with Horatio that he owes his escape to God.

Of all these cases let us first discuss the three or four from which Tanger himself eliminates the possibility of chance, and in which he wants to explain the agreement by saying that certain peculiarities of B were subsequently inserted into the text based on A. In regard to No. 11 (Ophelia: "Sieh' da, mein Kütschen!") and No. 7 (the comparison of the mirror, about which Tanger is uncertain) one cannot, of course, exclude altogether the possibility, when these passages are taken from their context, that they were inserted from some other version by the actors for the sake of effect. In regard to No. 3 (the speech of the King in which he recalls the death of the brother and his own marriage, and announces the close of the time of mourning) Tanger thinks that here A had a gap "which, in case of a performance of this text, had to be filled inevitably." This view is altogether erro-

neous. The thought in D is perfectly intelligible without the words which Tanger supposes had to be inserted, especially as the two terrace scenes of D were played consecutively before the great court scene. Thus the audience knew all the facts from the speeches of Hamlet and the ghost. Moreover, mention had already been made of the noisy festivities that the King was arranging. Tanger tries to explain No. 20 (Francisco) in a still easier way. After he has attempted to show that the other points of agreement are later interpolations, he merely says: "The case may be similar in regard to the name Francisco, which occurs in D and B, but not in A." This is going a little too far, for precisely in the case under discussion a subsequent insertion for the sake of a better understanding of the text or for theatrical effect is absolutely out of the question.

If it is found, then, that of the three or four points of agreement recognized by Tanger two cannot be explained except by supposing that parts of B were contained in the copy of D, the number of cases must be increased; for the four other points of agreement will convince everyone except Tanger that they cannot be due to chance. A subsequent insertion by the actors is especially inconceivable as regards 13, 17, and 19.

Tanger's idea in arguing so peculiarly is evident. His theory that D is substantially based on A he tries to corroborate by saying that "D has exceedingly few points which go back to B." But this is really the reverse of the actual facts. We shall see presently that the undisputed points of agreement between D and A are not half so numerous as those between D and B.

We have already noted that agreement between D and A does not necessarily prove D dependent on A, but that the common source Y sufficiently explains all coincidences. Dependence of D upon A could be proved only by showing that D contains traits due to the bookseller's assistant who prepared A for the press: misunderstandings of what was spoken on the stage or arbitrary changes and additions. Such modifications could have gotten into D, not from Y of course, but only from A. Now, Tanger really believes that he has found something in D and A which could not have been derived from Y, but must be due to

the fact that the writer of A misunderstood. In this way Tanger wants to explain the most striking and characteristic coincidence of D and A: Corambis and Corambus. He has hit upon the amusing idea that the writer of A, hearing the name Polonius repeatedly on the stage, mistook it for Corambis, and thus this name got into the first printed edition. It can be readily understood that this assertion, made before the members of the English Shakespeare Society, caused considerable hilarity. There can be no doubt whatever that the agreement between D and A is traceable to Y. The form in D (Corambus) is correct and agrees, we may assume, with that in Y, for the name Corambus occurs also in Shakespeare's *All's Well that Ends Well*, IV, 3. And that Corambus was changed to Corambis in A owing to a mistake in hearing needs no explanation. But why the name Corambus should occur instead of Polonius, whether there was any covert allusion in the latter name and the actors on that account were afraid to utter it aloud from the stage—this of course we cannot determine now.

One remarkable point of agreement between A and D, occurring in the scene which takes place in the Queen's bed-chamber, may indeed throw a new light on the stage representation of *Hamlet* in Shakespeare's time. In B, III, 4, 18, Hamlet says to his mother:

Come, come and sit you downe, you shall not boudge,
You goe not till I set you vp a glass
Where you may see the [in]most part of you.

Ger.:

What wilt thou doe, thou wilt not murther me,
Helpe how.

Polonius:

What how helpe!

Hamlet bids his mother sit down quietly and listen to him; should such a request make his mother suspect that he intends to kill her? The words of the poet certainly do not make the thought sufficiently clear. As a rule, it is left to the actor to supplement what is lacking by tone and gesture. Tieck demanded that a stage direction be inserted after Hamlet's words, to the

effect that Hamlet lock the door and thus arouse mortal terror in the Queen. In D the corresponding lines are:

Hamlet: Pfui! Schämet Euch. Ihr habt fast auf einen Tag Begräbniss und Beylager gehalten. *Aber still, sind alle Thüren vest verschlossen?* Königin: Warum fraget Ihr das. (Corambus hustet hinter der Tapete.)

Here, to be sure, the thought is distorted, but we are justified in assuming that the words in italics have come from an old stage direction. This supposition is made certainty I think when we compare the corresponding passage in A:

Hamlet:

Mother, mother, O are you here?

How is't with you mother?

Queene:

How is't with you?

Hamlet:

I'll tell you, *but first wee make all safe.*

Queene:

Hamlet, thou hast thy father much offended.

Hamlet:

Mother, you haue my father much offended.

Queene:

How now boy?

Hamlet:

How now mother! come here, sit downe, for you shall heare me speake.

Queene:

What wilt thou doe? thou wilt not murder me;

Helpe hoe.

When Tanger points to the connection between the italicized words in A and D he is entirely right, but he is wide of the mark in supposing the passage in D occasioned by that in A. Here again the coincidence is traceable to Y. The writer, obliged to work hastily, involuntarily put into words Hamlet's significant movements in this rapidly progressing scene.

But I shall not discuss further the points of agreement between D and A, as I have dealt with them at length in former publications. I only wish to emphasize again that these coincidences are not nearly so numerous as those between D and B; if we consider

only those points of agreement from which the possibility of chance is eliminated, we find that there are eight coinciding with B and three with A, not counting the two mentioned above which I have cited in the *Berichte*, pp. 14 and 32, under No. 10.

The results of my investigations may be summarized as follows: There can be no doubt that (1) D is traceable to a stock-piece of English players traveling in Germany; that (2) the performances of such companies were very often based on stage manuscripts; that (3) in D characteristics of A and B are found that occur in no printed edition; that (4) the Shakespearean troupe must have played a version of *Hamlet* in which again the characteristics of A and B were combined. Therefore the supposition that D is based on the stage text of the Shakespearean troupe is well founded. This conjecture becomes a certainty after a careful comparison of the parts of D which agree with those of A and B.

WILHELM CREIZENACH.

CRACOW.

SERMO DE CONFUSIONE DIABOLI.

WHEN J. C. W. Augusti, early in the last century, was making search in the Royal Library at Vienna for unedited works of Eusebius of Emesa,¹ he was not aware that two manuscripts among its stores offered interesting additions to the material already collected by him. The one of these might have furnished him, in the Greek, a sequel to the *Oratorio in sacrum Parasceues diem* which he had published;² the other contained an early Latin version of both these homilies, made from a text in which they had been combined into a single narrative. To the first of these manuscripts Thilo³ promptly called attention, and re-edited the text, which had already appeared among the spurious writings of St. Chrysostom in the editions of Savile and Montfaucon; the Latin translation, here published for the first time,⁴ is the following *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*.

The Vienna manuscript in which this sermon is found is *Cod. Lat.*, 1370 [Rec. 3324]; it is of parchment, with page size 17.8 × 12.3 cm. The tenth century is the date assigned for the manuscript in the *Tabulae Codicum* edited by the Vienna Academy, 1864 ff., and likewise in the earlier catalogue of Denis.⁵ But Karl Schenkl, who copied a portion of the manuscript for Georg Schepss,⁶ correctly ascribed it to the century preceding. I can find nothing further regarding the previous history of the manuscript, except that it seems not to have been in the library when Tegnagel prepared an autograph catalogue

¹ *Eusebii Emeseni quae supersunt Opuscula Graeca*, Elberfeld, 1829.

² *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³ J. C. THILO, *Ueber die Schriften des Eusebius von Alexandrien und des Eusebius von Emesa*, Halle, 1832.

⁴ On this point I have received assurance from Dom Germain Morin, of Abbey Maredsou to whom I would here express my appreciation of his courtesy. My thanks are due likewise to Professor E. von Dobschütz, now of Strassburg, for answering various inquiries.

⁵ Vol. II, col. 2041, No. DCCCXXXI. Denis in his careful fashion, makes characteristic excerpts from the sermon, which he describes (col. 2053) as *narratio confecta ad imitationem spiritus Evangelii Nicodemi*. He did not observe, apparently, that the text is a translation of the two homilies of Eusebius. I am indebted to Mr. C. H. Beeson, at present in Munich, for copying the note from Denis, whose work I could not procure here, and for making investigation with regard to Tegnagel's catalogue.

⁶ *Sermo Boetii*, foll. 83-88 v. See *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Vol. XXXVIII (1885), p. 270.

of its possessions.¹ The ultimate provenance of the manuscript is undoubtedly France. Professor Ludwig Traube, of Munich, who kindly examined specimens of the writing, was inclined to regard it as a product of the school of Orléans. The volume contains various works of an ecclesiastical character, such as excerpts from Isidore, Prosper, and Gregory the Great, several catechisms and creeds, the *Sermo Boetii* edited by Schepss, and last of all, foll. 107-20^v, the present sermon.

The subject of the sermon, which, as the title partially indicates, is the Harrowing of Hell, at once suggests some sort of kinship between the present narrative and the so-called *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Whether this relation is one of precedence or of imitation is a question which formed the core of the controversy between Thilo and Augusti, and which most scholars today, I imagine, would decide in favor of the former. The authorship of the homilies, to be sure, has not yet been definitely settled; although the name of the writer is clearly Eusebius, and the title Alexandrinus is given him in some manuscripts, it is difficult to identify him further; whether he is Eusebius of Emesa, as Augusti believed, or a writer of Alexandria as Thilo and, independently, Cardinal Angelo Mai² declared, may still be matter for argument. However, the sermons seem rather an elaborated form of the story as told in the *Gospel of Nicodemus* than a source of the same,³ and since this work is now assigned by the best authority⁴ to the end of the fourth or beginning of the fifth century, it is probable that our Eusebius is not the Bishop of Emesa, who died about 360.

¹ *Catalogus manuscriptorum . . . Bibliothecae Augustissimae Caesareae Vindobonensis. Descriptio ex autographo Sebastiani Tengnagelii I. V. D. qui ad 1693 praefectus Bibliothecae obiit ão 1636.* This rare volume, in manuscript, was presented to Harvard College Library by Professor C. R. Gregory, of Leipzig. It formed the basis of the classification introduced by Lambecius in 1663. See his *Comment. de Aug. Bibl. Caes. Vind., ed. alt.* (1776), Vol. I, pp. 121, 152. The system of numbering, however, employed by Lambecius in the above-named work does not tally with that in this catalogue. The latter, apparently, has never been printed.

² *Spicileg. Rom.* (1843), Vol. X, pp. i ff.; *Nov. Patr. Bibl.* (1844), Vol. II, pp. 499 f.

³ As Denis observed. See above, p. 1, n. 5.

⁴ VON DOBSCHÜTZ, in *HASTINGS'S Dictionary of the Bible*, Vol. III, p. 545, § iv; A. MAURY, *Croyances et Légendes de l'Antiquité*, 1863, pp. 326 ff. Maury believes, however, with Augusti, that the author of the sermon is Eusebius of Emesa (pp. 219, 313). The *ANNE MIGNÉ* (*Patrol. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 535), after printing Sermon B (Augusti) with those of Eusebius of Alexandria, retracts, on noting the close connection between its beginning and the end of Sermon A, II (Augusti). But Thilo had included all the sermons printed by Augusti with the works of Eusebius Alexandrinus.

Probably, then, these homilies were written in the fifth or the sixth century, and as a Eusebius of Alexandria flourished in each of these epochs, we may, with the manuscripts, call our author Alexandrinus, leaving it for further investigation to settle his date. Mai is inclined to put him in the fifth century, Thilo,¹ after some hesitation, in the sixth, and the latter is the date accepted by von Dobschütz.² In either the fifth or the sixth century, then, Eusebius of Alexandria wrote two sermons, one for Maunday Thursday, the other for Good Friday,³ thus telling in two chapters the story of the Harrowing of Hell. It is not surprising that these parts were combined later—or possibly by the writer himself—into a single narrative,⁴ or that this was soon given the honor of a translation into Latin. For the story is well told; barring certain repetitions of the New Testament narrative, which would have profited by condensation, it has the life and movement of a little drama.

It may be reasonably inferred, I have implied, that the Latin translation was made in the fifth or sixth century, and not in the ninth, the date of our unique manuscript of the text. Taking into account the state of learning in the ninth century, as well as the general conditions of manuscript transmission, this is *a priori* the most natural hypothesis, and should be accepted as valid, unless some positive refutation can be presented. The character of the Latin would not disgrace a translator of sermons in the fifth or the sixth century. Mistakes and curious idioms there are, but some of these may be paralleled in writers of the same age or earlier;⁵ some are due to the translator's desire to reproduce his

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 55, 57, 80 (f). ² *Op. cit.*, Vol. III, p. 545 (g). ³ THILO, *op. cit.*, p. 84, n. 1.

⁴ The two sermons have in several cases been transmitted together, although not forming a single narrative: see THILO, p. 31. *Cod. Coislin.*, p. 121, n. 60 (MONTFAUCON, *Bibl. Coislin.*, p. 197) begins at the same words (*ἀκούσας ὁ διάβολος*) as the Latin does, but the second sermon immediately follows in separate form. A case parallel to that of our Latin sermon is offered by the *Acta Andreae* (ed. M. BONNET, *Supplem. Cod. Apocr.*, Vol. II, 1895), which grew from three sermons into a single narrative. See VON DOBSCHÜTZ's review, *Litterarische Centralblatt* (1896), c. 649.

⁵ To specify a few noticeable peculiarities, the nominative absolute (see below, pp. 14, n. 21; 15, ll. 9, 10) is found in Ennodius (see A. DUBOIS, *La latinité d'Ennodius*, Paris, 1903, p. 390); *cum* with the accusative (see pp. 10, l. 9; 11, l. 16; 4, ll. 24, 26) is a well-known feature of popular Latin, occurring, for instance, in letters written to St. Cyprian (see L. BATARD, *Le Latin de Saint Cyprien*, Paris, 1902, p. 158); *uenisti ad rapere* (p. 17, l. 26) can be matched with St. Augustine's *cum ueneris ad bibere*, *Serm.* 225, cap. 4: see A. REGNIER, *De la latinité des sermons de Saint Augustin*, Paris, 1886, p. 106.

original closely;¹ others, to the unintelligent effort of the ninth-century scribe to fill in the suspensions of the original text²—to say nothing of the usual careless blunders. Certain of these scribal errors show that the manuscript is a copy, not an autograph,³ though there is no clear evidence from the nature of the mistakes that the archetype was written in uncials or capitals.⁴ No conclusions may be drawn from the character of the Biblical citations, since a translator of the fifth or the sixth century might well have used either the "Itala" or the version of St. Jerome; as a matter of fact, in the majority of passages Itala and Vulgate happen to agree; in a few,⁵ our text presents the former, and in a few, the latter rendering, while other citations are made inaccurately from memory. In one or two instances it is plain that the translator simply renders his Greek text without reference to the current Latin versions. No other indications are apparent from which the date of the work may be inferred, and as no conclusive proof to the contrary is forthcoming, it is most natural to assume that the translation was made in the fifth century, and not in the ninth.

With proper deference to the opinion of Montfaucon, who regretted that Savile, in editing the second of our two sermons, had dragged into the light of day that which was *perpetuis dignum tenebris*,⁶ I venture to think that the text here published may be of interest in several respects. In the first place, it may possibly shed some light on the authorship of the Latin homilies ascribed to Eusebius of Emesa. These homilies, in various collections, are now generally regarded as supposititious; some are ascribed to St. Bruno Astensis, Bishop of Segni, who died 1125; others to writers like Faustus of Rhegium or Caesarius of Arles,

¹ See below, pp. 11, n. 9; 12, n. 15; 15, n. 16.

² The suspensions are comparatively frequent, and, in some cases, of an unusual character. E. g., *discip̄* = *discipulis* (p. 14, n. 18); *mor̄* = *mortuos* (p. 15, n. 15); for *dicens*, *dic̄* (p. 16, n. 5) and for *respondens*, *resp̄d̄* (p. 16, n. 13) and *rp̄d̄* (pp. 13, n. 7; 18, n. 7) occur. Errors in filling out similar abbreviations are doubtless illustrated by pp. 14, n. 11; 15, n. 11; 16, n. 4. I have an impression, the validity of which I cannot prove, that the present text was copied from an uncial or capital manuscript in which suspensions were numerous.

³ See pp. 11, nn. 1, 8; 16, n. 15.

⁴ *Op. Chrysostomi*, Paris, ed. 1838, Vol. XI, p. 864.

who flourished in the fifth or the sixth century.¹ But Thilo presented a vigorous argument to show that the fourteen sermons edited by Sirmond as works of Eusebius of Cæsarea translate genuine sermons of Eusebius of Emesa;² Cardinal Mai, finding a Vatican manuscript of the eleventh century, which contained thirty-four of the homilies and bore the title *liber Domini Eusebii qui translatus* [Cod., *quem translatus*] *est ex Hebraeo in Latinum*, concluded that Eusebius might well have written Hebrew sermons, which various hands turned into Latin;³ and finally, as Dom Morin certifies, there is evidence that sermons of Eusebius (whether of Emesa or of Alexandria) were circulated in the occident as early as the sixth century. The present text we now know is a translation of two sermons of Eusebius (Alexandrinus). May it perhaps serve as a touchstone for detecting other genuine bits in the mass of material associated with his name?

In a second respect the sermon may have value, namely for the reconstruction of the Greek text of which it is a translation. While it will hardly play the rôle which distinguishes the Latin versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in the textual criticism of that work,⁴ its readings will be worth consulting. It were rash to attempt many decisions on the basis of the present editions of the text—Mai's I suspect, is somewhat doctored—but a few cases are already apparent where the testimony of the Latin version is of moment.⁵ Its worth can be gauged exactly when the Homilies of Eusebius appear in the critical edition which Professor von Dobschütz has in preparation.

Finally our sermon gives us a new instance of the influence of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*—indirect, in this case—on mediæval literature, and suggests a consideration which Walcker, in his treatment of this theme, did not take into account. In his work

¹ For a résumé of the discussion of this question see J. FESSLER, *Institutiones Patrologiæ*, Vol. II, p. 2 (in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 462 f.). Migne reprints some of the *Homiliae in Evangelia totius anni* with the works of BRUNO ASTENSIS, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. CLXV, c. 735 ff.

² THILO, *op. cit.*, pp. 64 ff.

³ *Nov. Patr. Bibl.*, Vol. II, p. 528.

⁴ For the *Descensus*, they take precedence of the extant Greek MSS. See VON DOBSCHÜTZ, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, 545 (g).

⁵ See, for instance, pp. 13, n. 1, n. 4; 17, n. 3.

entitled *Das Evangelium Nicodemi in der abendländischen Literatur* (Paderborn 1872), Wülcker draws a sharp contrast between the prominent part played by this gospel in early English vernacular literature and its much later appearance in the popular literature of other European countries. Nobody could quarrel with this statement if left in precisely this form, but Wülcker implies further that outside England the work was not popularly known before the twelfth century.¹ This assumption underlies his extensive refutation² of the statement of Fabricius that the title *Evangelium Nicodemi* was given to the work in England on account of the predilection of the English for their especial apostle Nicodemus. Wülcker takes pains to show that Nicodemus held no such position in the imagination of Anglo-Saxon writers, that this distinction belongs rather to Joseph of Arimathea, and that even the latter legend did not take form until the twelfth century. For the explanation of Fabricius, Wülcker substitutes one of his own, namely, that on account of the very early introduction of Christianity into England, the *Gospel of Nicodemus* in particular, like Christian writings in general, enjoyed an early vogue and at once exerted an influence on popular literature. We may charitably pass the suggestion without remark,³ and see the simple solution of the matter in Wülcker's second explanation that as Anglo-Saxon literature was the first of the vernaculars to come to fruition, the story of the Harrowing of Hell was first told in that literature. But the assumption that the *Gospel of Nicodemus* was not popularly known as early in the other countries of Europe is groundless. To take the case of France, there are among the manuscripts of this work collated by von Dobschütz for his projected edition of the *Evangelium Nicodemi*, various ninth- and tenth-century codices which were written in France, and to these instruments of dissemination should now be added our

¹ See, e. g., WÜLCKER, *op. cit.*, for France, pp. 23 ff.; for Germany, pp. 34 ff.

² *Ercura*, Vol. I, p. 72. WÜLCKER states his problem at the outset with the words: "Woher kommt es nun, dass gerade in England sich unser Evangelium so früh verbreitet hat?"

³ Granting, as may well be the case (see LAPPENBERG, *Geschichte von England*, 1894, Vol. I, p. 45, to whom WÜLCKER, p. 75, refers; W. BRIGHT, *The Roman See in the Early Church*, 1896, pp. 358 ff.), that England received Christianity in the second or even the first century, we have to reckon here with the conditions of literary transmission in the fifth century—the date of the composition and translation of our Gospel.

Sermon, copied in France by a scribe of the ninth century. Clear evidence of the influence of the story on contemporary literature appears also in the poem of Audradus, *De Fonte Vitae*, which contains a description of the Harrowing of Hell,¹ preceded by a dialogue between Mors and Diabolus in the manner of the gospel and the sermon. These details are enough to hint at a general diffusion of the story in France long before the twelfth century; when the development of popular literature in that country ensued, the story was told in the vernacular as well.

Walker traces also the influence of the *Evangelium Nicodemi* on the liturgical drama of the Middle Ages, noting that the Harrowing of Hell formed part of the plot of a French mystery as early as the twelfth century.² Other authorities do not mention any trace of its appearance before the thirteenth,³ but taking into account the popularity of the story in the drama of the Middle Ages, and what our sermon has told us of its prevalence in ninth-century literature, we should not be surprised if further investigation revealed its appearance on the mediæval stage earlier than has hitherto been noted. In the eleventh and twelfth centuries, Chambers notes,⁴ such subjects as *Elisæus*, *Convivium Herodis* already figured. The present homily with its vivid dialogues is in essence dramatic; it holds in solution the elements of a little drama which only a touch, it would seem, would precipitate into the actual dramatic form. Such material, accessible in the ninth century; might well have been utilized for the ecclesiastical stage before the thirteenth.

This possibility leads to another suggestion, namely that sermons in general may have exerted on the development of the mediæval drama an influence to which insufficient consideration has hitherto been paid. Augusti, in the work already cited, was not blind to the significance of the homilies of Eusebius in this respect. He in fact conceived them as deliberately modeled on

¹ *Mon. Germ. Hist. : Poet. Aev. Carol.*, ed. TRAUBE, Vol. III, pp. 73 ff. The passage on the Harrowing of Hell, begins at vs. 305.

² *Op. cit.*, p. 60.

³ CREIZENACH, *Geschichte des neueren Dramas*, Vol. I (1893), pp. 55 f.; W. MEYER, *Fragments Burana*, *Götting'sche Abhandlungen, Festschrift* (1901), pp. 61, 68, 100; E. K. CHAMBERS, *The Mediæval Stage*, 1903, pp. 73 f.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 64.

the lines of the Greek drama; their author, in the ancient fashion, had selected a theme, an *ὑπόθεσις*, not from his own imaginings, but from the traditional legends—in his case, the *mythologia Christiana*—and had then arranged his incidents in dramatic form, developing three distinct plots which were subtly connected by an inner unity of design. In short, the three homilies published by Augusti formed a *τριλογία δραματική*¹ on the theme *Diabolus deceptus et succussus*;² the play was a tragedy in structure—in essence, a *divina comoedia*.³ Reflecting that the concluding portion of the third of the sermons, which in fact was soon proved by Thilo to be part of a fourth sermon, might be reckoned as an independent piece, Augusti finally declared the whole a tetralogy, not a trilogy.⁴ Thilo, who devoted much energy to clipping the wings of Augusti's fancy, suggested *teratology* as a more appropriate title;⁵ he added that the concluding section of the fourth sermon, of which Augusti had not known, might serve as a satyric after-piece. A bit of this flagellation Augusti surely deserved, but none the less commendable is his insight into the essential spirit of these pieces: they are dramatic. When we consider that other sermons of a like character are not lacking—instances are given by both Augusti⁶ and Thilo⁷—the conviction grows that the course of the drama in the Middle Ages may have been shaped not only by the church liturgy, but by the sermon as well. The mediæval preacher could act on occasion; the ancient *pulpitum* has more than an etymological connection with the modern pulpit.

But leaving these questions to be worked out by others better fitted for the task, I offer here simply the text of the *Sermo de Confusione Diaboli*. A few obvious mistakes have been corrected

¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 109.

² *Ibid.*, p. 63.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 7.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 117.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 110.

⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 8, 27, 28. The last reference is to one of the sermons of Eusebius of Emesa, ascribed by Thilo to Caesarius of Arles. The passage quoted before this by Thilo from *Max. Bibl. Patr.*, Vol. VI, p. 734, is from one of the *Homiliae in Evangelia totius anni* (Migne, *Patr. Lat.*, Vol. CLXV, c. 86, No. LVIII, but not printed there): the sermon repeats in a lively manner the narrative of the *Evang. Nic.* If the present ascription to Bruno of Segni is correct, it gives us a specimen of a sermon on our story from the eleventh or the twelfth century. Bits of the "Eusebius" homilies on the same theme appear in two sermons falsely assigned to St. Augustine; see Migne, Vol. XXXIX, c. 2059, Nos. CLX and CLXL. PROFESSOR HULME's recent publication of two OE. homilies on the Harrowing of Hell (*MODERN PHILOLOGY*, Vol. I, p. 379), is of great interest in the present matter.

and a few conjectures proposed, but in general I have let the reading stand, if at all intelligible. I have often had recourse to the assistance of the available Greek texts, and in some cases have pointed to differences in the readings, or to omissions. This procedure has not been carried out systematically, however, as a thoroughgoing comparison will not be in place until the definitive edition of the Greek text is published by Professor von Dobschütz.

The following symbols of reference have been employed:

Serm. XV = the third of the sermons published by Augusti, p. 15. It is No. XV in the editions of Mai, *Spic. Rom.*, Vol. IX, p. 696, and Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 383. To it correspond pp. 10-14, l. 32 of the Latin text here printed.

Serm. XVII = the sequel to this sermon, No. XVII in Migne, *Patr. Graec.*, Vol. LXXXVI, c. 421; printed Vol. LXII, c. 721. To it correspond p. 14, ll. 32 to p. 18 of the Latin text. First edited, with the spurious works of St. Chrysostom, by Savile, Vol. VII (1612), p. 459; then by Montfaucon, Vol. XI (1718), p. 793; then by Thilo, p. 81. It appears in the Paris re-edition of Montfaucon by Gaume Frères, Vol. XI (1835-1839), p. 867. The general get-up of this and other publications of the same firm (e. g., St. Augustine) was adopted (and cheapened) for the volumes in Migne's *Patrologia*. The Paris edition incorporates many of Thilo's notes, and agrees with him in his controversy with Augusti. Migne selects a few of these notes on the text, but omits the introductory section on Thilo, printing only Montfaucon's *Monitum*.

M = the text of Sermon XV, printed by Mai. This he tells us (*Spic. Rom.*, Vol. IX, p. 696, n. 1) is a composite of the readings of three Vatican manuscripts. Called in Migne *editio prima*.

V = The text of Sermon XV, and a section of Sermon XVII, published by Augusti, p. 15, as *editio prima*, from a Vienna manuscript—*Cod. Graec.* 284, Nessel. Called in Migne *editio altera*. To this text the Latin version most closely corresponds.

V¹ = the text of Sermon XV, published by Augusti, p. 29, as *editio altera*, from *Cod. Vind. Graec.* 307, Nessel. Called in Migne *editio tertia*.

T = Thilo's text of Sermon XVII, edited on p. 81 after Savile and Montfaucon. I see no proof that he uses *Cod. Nan.* XLIII (now *Ven. Marc.* II, 42), to which he refers (pp. 10, 31). The Vienna manuscript, of which a copy was sent him (p. 84, n. 3), and which he used in editing the text, seems to be V (i. e., the part containing a section of Sermon XVII; see p. 84, n. 2), not *Cod. Graec.* 247, Nessel, which contains all of Sermon XVII, and to which he had called Augusti's attention.

v = *Cod. Vind. Lat.* 1370 s. IX, containing the text here published.

Codd. = All the Greek texts available.

107^v INCIPIT SERMO DE CONFUSIONE DIABOLI ET INFERNI.

Audiens Diabolus Dominum dicentem: *Tristis anima mea usque ad mortem*¹ sperauit se quia mortem uel crucem pertimesceret et capit promptus² fieri. Currens abiit ad Infernum et dixit ei, "Paratus es tu;³ para mihi locum munitum, ubi recludamus eum qui dicitur Christus, quem Iohannes et reliqui prophete dicunt quia uenit et eiecit nos. Ecce paraui aduersus eum mortem; | discipulum eius ad traditionem eius prae-
 108 paraui: paraui clavos,⁴ acutaui lanceas, Iudaeos inritaui sicut sagittas aduersus eum. Omnia feci, omnia praeparaui ad traditionem eius; tu, tantum, paratus es tu ad suscipiendum eum. Multa enim mala mihi ostendit super terram, multum me inritaui, multa uasa mihi subripuit. Quorum ego (in) mala delectabar, hic uerbo suo eos sanabat; et quorum claudebam lumen et delectabar in illis, quando in parietem eos percutiebam aut in aquas mittebam et in lacum uersabantur, ueniens autem ille unde nescio e contrario mihi agens, uerbo eis donabat lumen. Alio autem dum esset in utero matris suae⁵ clausi oculos eius ut nec signum oculorum eius appareret. | Ille autem inueniens eum et lutum de sputo faciens, unguens oculos eius iussit eum ad Siloa lauare et statim uidit. Ego autem non inueniens locum ubi uadam, accipere⁶ ministros meos et abii longe ab eo. Et inueni iuuenem Matheum et introiui in eum cum ministris meos et gaudens habitabam in eo. Quomodo cognouit ille nescio et ueniens increpauit me exire ab eo. Alio quoque principe cuius⁷ filia mortua est et quia dilectissima erat filia parentibus suis, planctu magno plangebant eam. Ego delectabar uidens populum multum plangentem eam, ille autem ueniens unde nescio suscitauit eam et tradidit eam sanam patri suo. Et iterum mulier quaedam fatigata a fluxu sanguinis: per xii annos⁸ canalis sanguinis⁹ eius | descendebat, dum¹⁰ illa¹¹ uidens eum¹² transeuntem, occurrit ei et ut solum tetigit fimbriam uestimenti[s] eius, ilico stetit fluxus sanguinis eius. Ego autem furebam aduersus eum et non poteram committere litem cum eo. Exsurgens abii a finibus illis et ueni in¹² finibus Chananeorum et inueni ibi puellam et ingressus sum in eam; quando in ignem eam mittebam et quando in

¹ Matt. 26:38.² A mistake or a vulgar variant for *promptus*. Denis would read *presumptus*.³ Denis may be right in reading *paratus esto*. *v* has *estu*.⁴ *v*, *clauas*: Codd., ἥλων.⁵ The ablative absolute and the *dum* clause are a rude translation of *V*, ἄλλον . . . ὑπάρχοντα.⁶ This may be a historical infinitive; cf. *dominare*, p. 11, l. 26. But *V*, παρέλαβον ἐξ δαίμονας ὑπουργοῦς suggests *accepi vi ministros*, from which *accipere* might have arisen.⁷ Possibly *aliter* (*M*, ἀλλ' ὅτε. Did his manuscripts have ἀλλοτε?) *quoque principis cuius* (for *alicuius*).⁸ *v*, *annis*.⁹ *v*, *sanguis*.¹⁰ *v* possibly has *autem*.¹¹ *v*, *ille* . . . *eam*. *V*, ὅτετοι αἵματος . . . καθήρχοντο. Εὐθὺς οὖν ἰδοῦσα τοῦτον ἔβηκε πρὸς αὐτόν.¹² *v*, *a*.

fluuium eam proiciebam, et delectabar in eam, † magnites et¹ mater eius
lugebant eam. Ille autem unde cognouit nescio; uenit in finibus illis
et habitabat ibi. Ut autem cognouit mater puelle cucurrit et nuntiabat
ei de hac puella filia sua dicens ei: *Miserere mei, Domine, Fili David,*
*filia mea male² a demonio uexatur.*³ Ille autem audiens non | respondit 100^v
ei uerbum. Et putabam ego quod non possit curare eam et incipio uel
istam sub me habere. Et iterum mulier procidens rogabat eum dicens:
Miserere mei, Fili David; filia mea a daemonio uexatur. Qui respon-
dens dixit ei: *Non est bonum sumere panem filiorum et mittere cani-*
*bis.*⁴ Cui⁵ respondens mulier dixit: *Domine, nam et catelli edunt de*
*micis quae cadunt de mensa dominorum suorum.*⁶ Qui dixit ad eam:
*Mulier, magna est fides tua; fiat tibi sicut petisti.*⁷ Qui noluit ire ad
puellam, sed mulieri dedit potestatem ut me effugaret. Ego autem exiui
a puella uidens quia ille ibidem erat. Veni in Bethania et inueni ami-
cum eius Lazarum infirmantem et sciens quia ille | longe esset, uolens eum 110
contristari, rapui eum cum ministros meos in infernum et securus factus
sum et sperabam quia non poterat eum ad se leuare. Veniens autem
ille cum *sopore*⁸ male occupatus eras⁹ [et]⁹ excussit eum ad se. Dicit ei
Infernus, "Si ille est qui Lazarum suscitauit, si ipse est, obsecro te,
miserere mei et ne adducas eum hic, quia magnus est. Vox illius tunc
sola me contremescit et dissoluit uirtutem meam; uoce(m) sua(m)
sola(m) sustinere non potui, et tu ipsum adnuntias ad me adducere?
Obsecro te, et miserere mei et ne adducas eum hic, quia si uenerit,
et quos habeo inclusos eiciet¹⁰ a me. Ego tunc putrire feci Lazarus
corpus; quattuor dies tenui eum in locum munitum | et dissolui membra 110^v
eius et dominare¹¹ omnino ei. Quando autem uenit ad ostium meum
exclamabat ei dicens: *Lazare, ueni foras.*¹² Et putrefactus [est] Lazarus
exiuit sicut leo expellit ad uenationem aut aquila exiliens quae omnem
infrmitatem deponit¹³ in ictu oculi. Et illum hic includere¹⁴ non pos-
sum;" Respondit alter diabolus et dixit: "Et infortis et impossibili
animo,¹⁵ mihi tanta mala operatus est et recessit. De seculo non cessau
iniqua agens in homines, et tu times? Unum malum quod pertulisti ab
eo sic timuisti? Ego tanta mala passus sum et non cessau agens

¹ v, eam / magnites & mater. I would suggest magnopere cum mater . . . lugebat:
cf. M and V¹ (V omits), μέλιστα ὅταν ἡ μήτηρ.

² v, mala. ³ Matt. 15:22. ⁴ Ibid., vs. 26. ⁵ v, Qui. ⁶ Matt. 15:27. ⁷ Ibid., vs. 28.

⁸ v, furore . . . erat. Codd., ἐν ὕπνῳ κατέκειτο.

⁹ Possibly et, which I have bracketed here and elsewhere, translates an adverbial καί.

¹⁰ v, eiecit; V, ἐβάλεϊ. Or, after M, ἐβάλλει, read eicit.

¹¹ A historical infinitive. Cf. p. 10, n. 8. For the active form cf. Venant. Fort., 3, 14, 16
Perhaps dominaui should be read: Codd., κατακυριεύω.

¹² Ioan. 11:43.

¹³ v, deponens. In this sentence the translation apparently omits several words from
the Greek original.

¹⁴ v, includi.

¹⁵ The two epithets are probably meant as vocatives, translating θειλὲ καὶ ἄνθρωπε καὶ
ἀλογόφυγε.

- contra eum, sed quando uidebam <quia> uarias infirmitates de hominum corpore sanabat, ego incipiebam animas exterminare | per me. Nam inueni quendam hominum Matheum et in misi in eum concupiscentias pecuniarum, et accipiens eum statui eum publicanum et diuitem eum feci. Et tantum oboediuit mihi adolescens ille omnibus; omnia suadebam, omnia rapiebat,¹ caedebat,² colaphizabat, comedebat et absorbebat aliena[s]. Et gaudebam in eum quia sic opera mea faciebat. Et collegit multa<s> pecunia<s> et minas proponebat aduersus eos qui habebant pecunias. Et dum iam habuissem eum probatissimum et omnia cetera mea perageret, ueniens ille unde nescio, transiens per teloneum dicit adolescenti: *Adolescens, ueni post me.*³ Et mox ut uerbum audiuit, et relinquens teloneum et pecunias | quas⁴ habebat, quas cum magno labore feci eum congregare, sed nec parentibus suis palam faciens et mox sequutus est eum et factus est eius discipulus. Et contristatus sum ualde quia talis⁵ uas recessit a me. Et denique non cessauit agens contra eum sed sperans quia⁶ statum illius adolescentis⁷ concupisceret et ideo eum tulisset, exsurgens abiit in Hiericho et inueni hominem modicum ualde nomine Zacheus et introiui in eum et statui illum publicanum. Hic consolatus est *tantam*⁸ tristitiam meam quae⁹ aduersus Matheum mihi erat et securus factus sum. Putabam me¹⁰ quia¹¹ statum illius non concupisceret, quia⁶ multum modicus erat. Quo modo autem uenit ille | nescio, et transiens cum multitudo magna.¹² Et Zacheus uero cum esset pusillus non poterat eum <videre et>¹³ ascendit in arborem sicomorum. Statim ille respiciens, uidens eum dixit ei: *Zache festinans descende; hodie oportet me manere in domo tua.*¹⁴ Et statim descendit et suscepit eum gaudens. Exiens reddidit ei omnia quae¹⁵ calumniauerat quadruplum et de substantia sua medietate<m> pauperibus erogauit et factus est eius amicus. Ego autem non inueniens¹⁶ ubi vadam, omnes deliquerunt me et illi adherebant. Qui enim peccabant per ignorantiam seducebam et promittebam eis: 'Quia incipistis peccare, de concupiscentia non recedatis

¹ Unless the text is corrupt, this is a rough, paratactic translation of V, ὁρμήκουεν ἐν μοῦ (M adds ἐν τοσοῦτον) . . . ὥστε πάντα τὰ θελήματα μου ἐποίησεν (ποιεῖν!).

² v, cedebat.

⁴ v, pecuniam quam.

⁶ v, qui ad.

³ Matt. 9:9.

⁵ Read tale?

⁷ v, adolescentem.

⁸ v, est eum et tristitiam; V, τὴν τηλικαύτην λύπην.

⁹ v, quam.

¹⁰ Cf. sperauit se, pp. 10, l. 2; 16, l. 33. Or should datives be read?

¹¹ v, qui a statum.

¹² Read, probably: quo modo autem nescio, uenit ille, et transiens. V apparently has ἐκεῖνος δὲ πάλιν, οὐκ οἶδα πῶς, ἦλθεν ἐκεῖνος παρῶν; V1, omitting the initial ἐκεῖνος; δὲ, has πάλιν . . . ἐκεῖνος καὶ παρῶν.

¹³ Codd., μὴ δυνάμενος ἰδεῖν.

¹⁴ Luc. 19:5.

¹⁵ This mistranslation, instead of *eis omnibus quos*, may have been due to an error in the translator's original. The manuscripts, apparently, show the various readings, ἐκάστην κατὰ ἑν (4s, 6) ἰσχυροφάντησε.

¹⁶ As V and V1 have εἰπίσσω (εὔπισσα), perhaps inueni should be read. Or, after M, make omnes . . . adherebant parenthetical and ego the subject of seducebam.

usque in finem, si ex toto ibi iudicabimini.¹ Haec dicens et horum similia suadens omnibus | in concupiscentia malorum.² Veniens ille et aduersos male agentes rogabat peccatores et consolabatur et promittebat eis paenitentiam et remissionem peccatorum et indulgentiam iniquitatum in regna caelorum. Et dicebat omnibus: *Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis et ego reficiam uos.*³ Et omnes ad illum occurrebant. Quando autem non inueni locum ubi uadam et factus sum minimus omni(s) creature,⁴ memoratus sum antiqam amicitiam; exsurgens abii ad amicos meos Iudaeos quos ab initio decepi. Memorans auditum⁵ eorum et uadens ad eos inritauī seniores eorum aduersus eum, et omnem multitudinem Iudaeorum armaui contra eum. Tu autem nihil time[s].⁶ Solum para mihi locum munitum ubi recludamus eum.⁷ Respondens⁸ autem Infernus dixit ei, "Ego nunquam | audiui tanta uerba quanta tu mihi suggessisti de eo, sed recede ab eo et ne festines eum hic adducere. Nihil cum eo commune habeas; non enim coniungit olla cum aramento.⁹ Ipsa percutit, ipsa minuetur. Tanta mala tibi fecit, tanta uasa subripuit, quomodo dicis; peccatores et meretrices et raptores tibi tulit et non praesumpsisti ante faciem eius nec uerbum dicere et nunc adduces eum hic, ut spem meam auferat et sine spe faciat similem <me> tibi. Ille si Filius Dei non fuisset tanta mirabilia non fecisset, et si homo fuisset sola carnalia uitia⁹ sanaret. Nam quid et corda publicanorum et peccatorum conuertisset ad paenitentiam et conuersionem? Tu mihi dixisti quia uerbo publicanum conuertit ut relinqueret teloneum. Tu autem contra faciem eius stare et ipsum adnuntias | hic adducere et claudere? Ego scio quid dicunt prophete quos habeo hic inclusos, quomodo eum expectant cum gaudio. Scio quia Iohannes¹⁰ ueniens et euangelizauit eis de illo et timeo eum hic suscipere." Dicit ei Diabolus, "Illi mentiuntur ut te in formidinam adducant."¹¹ Dicit ei Infernus, "Quem pronuntiauerunt,¹²

112v

113

113v

¹The translation is nearest in sense to V: *ὡς τέλους ἀπολαύσατε εἰ* [cod., *ἡ*] *ὅλως τῶν κατὰ ἀγαθῶν ἔσονται γεγονότες ἀμαρτήσαντες.*

²Part of this sentence is lacking, or else it translates an imperfect original. The Greek codices have *ἐπειθα* (*ἐπειθον*) *καταφρονεῖν τῶν ἰδίων ψυχῶν καὶ ἐν ταῖς ἡδοναῖς (τῶν κακῶν) ἐγκυλισθαι.*

³Matt. 11:28.

⁴There is no equivalent in M and V! for *et factus . . . creature*. V, *ἐκτός πάντων*, suggests *ἐκτος πάντων* as a variant reading from which the translation was made.

⁵Mistranslates V, *ὑπακοῆς*.

⁶Codd., *μη* (*δὲν*) *δειλιάσῃς*. The *s* is by dittography—unless *timeas* should be read.

⁷v, *τῶν*.

⁸v, *ulla*. M V, *τί κοινωνήσει χύτρα πρὸς λίβητα*. The form *aramentum* (for *aeramentum*) is cited in DUCANGE, with *aramen*, *aramum*, *araminum*, from very late mediæval sources, but KÖRTING (1901) states the form, which is assumed as a "substrate" for Span. *arambre*, Ital. *rame*, by GRÖBER, *Archiv für lateinische Lexicographie*, Vol. I (1884), p. 242. The word is now proved for the ninth century certainly, and probably for the sixth.

⁹v, *uita*.

¹⁰v, *Iohs*.

¹¹v, *adducunt*.

¹²v, *pronuntiauer*, and so always in this manuscript for the third person plural of the perfect.

- quare non sunt mentiti.¹ Omnia quae mihi suggestisti de eo, quia² tibi fecit qui dicitur Christus, praedixerunt prophete. Ecce tu confessus es et adsunt tibi quae dicta sunt ab eis et ante me mendaces³ eos uocas!⁴ Dicit ei Diabolus, "Per uirtutes tuas et insatiabilem uentrem tuum qui⁵ nihilum⁶ potest saturari, noli multum loqui. Omnes me dereliquerunt et ad illum accesserunt et, ut uideo, et tu me derelinquere uis et illius
- 114 amicus fieri. | Mundum inglutisti et non dixisti 'Sufficit.' Abraham, Isaac et Iacob et omnes prophetas suscepisti et non formidasti, et nunc per unum inimicum meum tanta formidatione circumdatus es et⁶ nolis eum suscipere. Ego cognoui quia homo est timens [eum] mortem. Nunc autem quomodo cognoui quia adpropinquauit illius hora mortis, timet mortem triste dicens; *Tristis est anima mea usque ad⁷ mortem.*" Dicit ei Infernus, "Ego quidem non uidi eum, neque uidere eum uolo. In quantum audiui, dicam tibi ueritatem, et tu signa sermones meos. Si forte non esset Filius Dei utique! Nam si ille est, scio quia ideo tristari⁸ se dicit ut tibi oblectentur talia uerba; et tu non exilies⁹ a facie eius. Et ue tibi! Eris¹⁰ infelix: deludere enim te uolens talia proferit¹¹ uerba. | Sed recede ab eo et ne pugnes cum eo." Dicit ei Diabolus, "Potentes habeo ministros meos et¹² non timeo pugnare cum eo. Unanimes omnes pariter Annas¹³ et Caiaphas et Iudas; hi¹⁴ coheredes mei sunt. Habemus autem et reliquam multitudinem Iudaeorum sub nos. Possumus aduersus eum pugnare. Solum¹⁵ paratus es tu ad suscipiendum eum." Dicit ei Infernus, "Uade quomodo uolueris. Primum¹⁶ mitte pugnam cum eo et si uinceris eum, includamus eum hic, et regnas tu cum Iudaeos. Si autem uincerit te, uenit hic et excutit quos habeo his inclausos et ligabit¹⁷ te cum Iudaeos et tradet uos mihi. Et uae uobis! Infelices eritis."
- 115 Haec audiens Diabolus abiit ad Iudaeos et concitauit eos aduersus eum et congregati sunt et consilium confecerunt ut eum proderent. Dominus autem in ipsa nocte erat manens in monte Oliueti cum discipulis¹⁸ suis et cognoscens aduersum se consilium, tunc ait discipulis¹⁸ suis: *Venit hora ut Filius hominis clarificetur*; ¹⁹*uigilate et orate ne intretis in temptationem.*²⁰ Et congregati²¹ omnes Iudaei in unum; uenit Iudas ad eos et dixit eis, "Exsurgentes sequimini me et tradam eum uobis."

¹ The Greek (M V1—V omits—) τὰ περὶ σοῦ, ἀπερ προείπον, οὐκ ἐψεύσατο suggests quae pronuntiauerunt, quae de te sunt. non sunt mentiti.

² Possibly the reading is quid.

³ v, mēdaes.

⁴ v, quac.

⁵ v, nimum; M V, ἢν οὐδεὶς δύναται χορράσαι. Perhaps quem nemo . . . saturare should be read.

⁶ Probably not a mistake for ut, as codd. have καὶ οὐ θέλει.

⁷ v, a.

⁸ v, tristat.

⁹ Or, with no punctuation after uerba, read exilias.

¹⁰ v, erit.

¹¹ V, προβάλλει; v, proferens.

¹² v, ut; codd., καί.

¹³ v, Annas.

¹⁴ v, hic; M, οἱτοι.

¹⁵ v, solus; Codd., μόνον.

¹⁶ v, prim.

¹⁷ v, ligauit.

¹⁸ v, discip.

¹⁹ Ioan. 12:23.

²⁰ Matt. 26:41. At this point the translation of Sermon XV ends; that of Sermon XVII begins with the following sentence.

²¹ Perhaps to be taken as nominative absolute.

Qui exsurgentes sequebantur eum cum gladiis et fustibus. Et dedit eis signum dicens: *Quem osculatus fuero, ipse est; tenete eum.*¹ Et cum abisset in locum ubi erat Iesus² cum discipulis³ suis, accedens Iudas osculatus est eum dicens: *Aue Rabbi.*¹ Et Dominus dixit: *Amice, ad quid venisti?*¹ Osculum amarum plenum iniquitate et perditione, osculum amarum et damnum animae, prouisio⁵ Gehenne! Meretrix osculans pedes Domini animam suam reuocauit a sorde; | Iudas osculatus eum⁶ 115
perdidit animam. Illa osculans de libro iniquitatis deleta est. O mulieris⁷ philosophia, o discipuli imprudentia! Illa osculans pedes domini, gaudebant angeli et coronam ei praeeparabant. Iudas osculans,⁸ gaudebant daemones et funis laqueis torquebatur.⁹ Illa gaudet et ille luget. *Aue Rabbi et osculatus*¹⁰ est eum. Et accedentes tenuerunt eum qui tenet omnem terram palmo. Tenuerunt eum et obtulerunt eum ad Annam et Caiphan principes¹¹ sacerdotum et quaerebant falsum testimonium aduersus eum et non inuenerunt. Et adduxerunt eum ad Pilatum et statuerunt eum ante Pilatum. Et interrogauit eum Pilatus dicens: *tu es rex Iudaeorum?*¹² Et Iesus¹³ non respondit ei. Stabat enim secundum scripturam dicentem: *Sicut ovis ad occisionem ductus est et non ape* | *ruit os suum.*¹⁴ Pilatus sedebat iudicans eum qui iudicaturus 116
est uiuos et mortuos.¹⁵ Stabat et contendebat contra Dominum iudicaturum pro mundi salutem.¹⁶ Ex ipsis causis cognouit Pilatus quia per inuidiam tradiderunt eum. *Innocens sum ego a sanguine iusti huius: uos uideritis.*¹⁷ Et Iudas uidens quia damnatus est, reddidit argenteos¹⁸ in templo, abiit, laqueo se suspendit. Et impletum est quod dictum est per prophetam dicentem: *conuertetur dolor eius in capite eius et in uerticem eius iniquitas eius descendit.*¹⁹ Et dixit ad eos Pilatus. "Nullam causam mortis inuenio in homine," et uolens eum dimittere dicit ad eos, "Consuetudo est uobis unum dimittere malefactorem. Audite, dimittam uobis Christum cui nullam causam mortis inuenio." | Illi 116
autem homicidam petierunt dimitti et iustificabant impium, ad Iesum²⁰ clamantes et dicentes: *Crucifige.* Tunc Pilatus flagellatum eum tradidit ut crucifigeretur. Flagellatus est Dominus noster ut nos de Diaboli obligatione et plaga eriperet. Coronatus est spinis ut solueret quae aduersos nos erant maledictiones. Spinās et tribulos quae nobis per

¹ Matt. 26: 48 ff. ² v, ihs. ³ v, discip. ⁴ v, qd. ⁵ prouisio(?). ⁶ v, e.

⁷ v, mulier; T, γυναικός. ⁸ v, osculas. ⁹ v, torquebantur. ¹⁰ v, osculatus.

¹¹ v, principibus. Here, it would seem, the suspension *princip* (cf. *discip*, above) was filled out erroneously by the ninth-century scribe.

¹² Matt. 27: 11. ¹³ v, ihs. ¹⁴ Isa. 53: 7. ¹⁵ v, mor.

¹⁶ This sentence differs considerably from T—possibly the Latin text is corrupt. The accusative after *pro* may have been intentional, as the text in the edition of SAVILE reads *in eo τοῦ κόσμου σωτηρίαν*.
¹⁷ Matt. 27: 24.

¹⁸ The homoioteleuta ἀνέδωκε τὰ ἀργύρια . . . πέντες τὰ ἀργύρια (*argenteos*) explain the omission of a translation for τοῖς ἀρχιερεῦσι . . . τὰ ἀργύρια. Possibly the mistake was made by the original translator.
¹⁹ Ps. 7: 17. ²⁰ v, ihm.

- praeuaticationem de terra ante fuerant¹ suscepit. Corona de spinis in caput suum ut solueret quae erant aduersus nos maledictiones. Crucifixus est in ligno ut solueret peccatum. Per lignum Adam excussus est de paradysio. Satanus per lignum Domini quod est signum crucis
- 117 persequitur. Per lignum enim Domini | latro paradysum² meruit intrare, et quod est mirabile, fratres dilectissimi, sexta die paradysus ei aperuit. Propterea Dominus noster sexta die sustinuit crucem, ut in ipso die paradysum aperiret. Formidans audiuit latro uocem Domini, introiuit in paradysum.³ Quando autem uidit Diabolus quia per continentiam facta sunt omnia et mirabilia quae facta sunt in cruce, sol⁴em⁴ obscuratum et terre motum factum et uelum templi scissum, et cum tanta uidisset Diabolus fugit ad Infernum dicens⁵ ei: "Uae mihi misero; inlus⁶us sum.⁶ Adiuua miseriam meam. Claudamus ostia ut ne intro eat hic. Obsera⁷ uectes ferreos; cum omni uirtute resistamus ei et ne recipiamus eum hic."
- 117^v Cucurrit Infernus et uectes ferreos obserauit.⁸ |

Et ecce Dominus ueniens ad⁹ infernum persequens Diabolum, et uirtutes praecurrentes dixerunt: *tollite portas principes uestras*¹⁰ et reliqua. Et quasi ignorans dixit Infernus: *Dominus uirtutum ipse est rex gloriae.*¹¹ Et respondit iterum Infernus, "Quis est hic de quo dixisti? Et si ipse est, quem querit hic? <Cur uoluit>¹² derelinquere caelum et descendere ad nos?" Et uirtutes dixerunt "*Quia rex est gloriae.* Uolens inimicum persequere descendit ligare et tradere eum tibi et milites suos excutere et conuocare eos." Et respondens¹³ Infernus dixit Diabolo, "Tricapite et Beelzebub, derisio sanctorum, infortis, inuide, non tibi dixi ne pugnes cum eo? Ecce nunc quae¹⁴ praedixi aduenerunt tibi, et quid facies miser? Quare non oboedisti uerbis meis? | Et nunc uenit et querit te, et propter te captiuus fio.¹⁵ Et si potes, miser, pugna cum eo. Ego enim te adiuuare non possum." Et Diabolus plorans ei¹⁶ dixit, "Miserere mei et ne aphas ei. Forsitan reuertitur ad Nazaret, qui non credebat uerbum eius. Quando timens mortem dicebat: *Tristis est*¹⁷ *anima mea usque ad mortem*, quando autem orabat dicens; *Pater si fieri potest, transeat a me calix iste*¹⁸ haec uerba oblectans dicebat, et ego infelix nesciebam. Sperabam me quia timens mortem haec diceret <et> trista-

¹ v, fuerat.

² v, paradysi.

³ At this point begins the excerpt from this Sermon in V.

⁴ v, sol: for sol of the original(?).

⁵ v, diē.

⁶ v, inlusum; T, ἐνελύθη; V, ὅτι ἐνελύθη (ἐνελύθη ?).

⁷ v, obsera.

⁸ v, obserauit.

⁹ v, ueniens . . . ad. Perhaps uenit should be read: TV, ἔρχεται.

¹⁰ Ps. 23:7.

¹¹ Here another omission seems to have been made, owing to homoioteleuta.

¹² V, τί κατέλιπον (T, κατέλιπον) . . . καὶ κατέβη. Perhaps, cur derelinquit . . . descendit.

¹³ v, respō.

¹⁴ v, quē; codd., & πρὸς τὸν . . . πάσῃ.

¹⁵ v, procerle . . . fles; Codd., διὰ σοῦ . . . γίνεσθαι.

¹⁶ v, & ; codd., πρὸς αὐτόν.

¹⁷ v, es.

¹⁸ Matt. 26:39.

retur." Et uirtutes praecurrentes dicebant, *Tollite portas principes uestras et reliqua*. Prophete autem uoce *rex gloriae*¹ gaudebant et exultabant. Et Iohannes dicebat, "Nonne dixi uobis quia ueniet et aperiet nos?" Et omnes letabantur² et ingreditur rex glorie et Infernus | nolebat.³ Responditque propheta Dauid et dixit, "Sinite eum. Oportet enim adimplere prophetiam meam. Quando enim fui super terram [eram] praeuidi quod futurum erat quia non aperiet ex se. Dixi enim de eo quia *contriuuit portas ereas et uectes ferreos confringet*;⁴ et uirtutes inferni conculcauit et dolores mortis soluit. Aculeum <inferni confregit>⁵ et completum est quod dictum est: *Ubi est mors stimulus tuus? Ubi est inferne uirtus tua?*"⁶ Obuiauerunt autem prophetae Dominum dicentes⁷ et ymnus dicentes *Benedictus qui uenit in nomine Domini*.⁸ Tunc adprehendit Dominus Diabolum et ligauit eum indissolutis uinculis et deposuit eum in inferiora terrae et substernit eum ignem inextinguibilem, et uermes non moriuntur: et clausus plorans et suspirans. Et Dominus adsumens secum | omnes prophetas [et] eiecit eos de inferno. Primus Dauid percutiebat cythara<m> et dicebat: "*uenite exultemus Domino*"⁹ et reliqua; quia rex noster pugnaans¹⁰ pro nobis uicit."¹¹ Et omnes responderunt:¹² *Omnes gentes plaudite manibus*¹³ et reliqua; quia rex noster pugnaans¹⁰ pro nobis uicit." Et alius propheta dicebat: "*Letentur caeli et exultet terra*,"¹⁴ quia rex noster pugnaans¹⁵ pro nobis uicit." Et sic exultantes pergebant ad paradysum et ingredientibus inuenerunt ibi latronem et expauerunt dicentes, "Quis te introduxit hic? Quis autem aperuit tibi et quid est opera tua quia prius de nobis hic introisti? Numquid hic ac furtum uenisti facere? Non te sufficeba<n>t terrena? Et si hic uenisti ad rapere,¹⁶ dic nobis, quis te introduxit hic? Non inuidemus¹⁷ quia prius introisti hic sed causam queramus." Qui respondit eis, "Propter opera mea non eram dignus introire hic | sed Dominus amator hominum et misericors introduxit me. Ego autem nullum bonum

c 118

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c 119

¹ The sentence is intelligible in its present form; yet the Greek — ἀκούσαντες τὰς φωνὰς (τῆς φωνῆς) τοῦ βασιλέως — suggests uoce regis gloriae audita.

² v, letabuntur; Codd., ὑόφρανοντο.

³ This supports the reading ἡρείχεται; see Thilo's note, p. 87.

⁴ Ps. 106:16.

⁵ TV, τὰ κέντρα τοῦ ἔδου συνέθλασε.

⁶ 1 Cor. 15:55. In the Latin translation, as in V, the words of St. Paul are most probably uttered by the mouth of David. Thilo's criticism (p. 87, n. 4) of Augusti on this point is considerably weakened in case his text proves to be inferior to V and v.

⁷ One or more participles may be omitted here. Dicentes gives new support for λέγοντες, which Thilo declares wrong.

⁸ Matt. 21:9.

⁹ Ps. 94:1.

¹⁰ v, pugnat: T, πολεμήσας.

¹¹ This appears to be an impromptu liturgy, suggested perhaps by Judith 5:16: deus eorum pugnauit pro eis et uicit.

¹² At this point in V the excerpt ends.

¹³ Ps., 46:1.

¹⁴ Ps. 95:11.

¹⁵ v, pugnauit. Here, and in ll. 4 and 7, the original may have been pugni. Or read pugnauit . . . <et> uicit.

¹⁶ v, ad ra | rapere.

¹⁷ v, inuideni.

feci. Inde condemnauerunt me Iudaei reum mortis et uolentes me perdere mortificauerunt simul crucifigentes me cum Domino. Et uidi ego signa quae faciebat et intellexi quia Filius Dei est. Clamaui uoce magna dicens: *Memento Domine cum ueneris in regnum tuum.*¹ Statim suscipiens Dominus orationem meam [et] dixit mihi: *Hodie mecum eris in paradyso.*² Et dedit mihi signum crucis. 'Hunc accipiens,' dixit: 'Vade ad paradysum: et si uetauerit te ignis arumphaea³ introire in paradysum, ostende ei hunc regalem signum et aperiet tibi.' Et ueniens ego, statim ut uidit me ignis arumphaea qui custodiebat paradysum clausit ostia. Ego autem dixi, 'Rex gloriae qui crucifixus est ipse me misit' et osten | <di> illam crucem et statim aperuit mihi. Et ingrediens neminem inueni et expaui in cogitatione mea et dixi in me ipso, 'Ubi est Abraham, Isaac et Iacob et reliqua multitudo sanctorum et prophetarum?' Et cum hec cogitarem, ecce apparuerunt in dextera parte orientis duo uiri et mirabiles⁴ uisione et electi uultu et interrogauerunt dicentes, 'Quis es tu? Abraham non es:'⁵ illius enim schema sacerdotalis est. Moyses non es; illius autem loquela tarda est et tua loquela clara est. Tu latro uideris esse et schema tua latro est.' Et confessus sum quia latro eram et Dominus paradyssi⁶ introduxit me hic quia perrexi cum eo ad mortem quam pertulit pro nobis. Et dixi ad eos, 'Obsecro uos, qui estis?' et respondens⁷ unus ex eis dixit mihi. 'Ego Helias sum Thesbites qui per igneam currum⁸ adductus sum hic: et ille qui mecum est, Enoc, qui translatus est | uerbo Dei. Et prophetae audientes glorificauerunt Dominum de tali dono quod⁹ dat peccatoribus. Et Dominus monens¹⁰ Infernum et Mortem conculcans, Diabolum ligans, mundum liberans, a mortuis resurgens (*mors illi ultra non dominabitur*)¹¹ ascendit ad caelos, sedit ad dexteram patris, unde expectamus eum uenturum et iudicaturum uiuos et mortuos et omne saeculum¹² per ignem, cum Sancto Spiritu et sanctam ecclesiam in uitam aeternam: ipso Domino nostro, cui sit honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

¹ Luc. 23: 42.² *Ibid.*, 43.³ *Ignis* is genitive. The initial *a* of *arumphaea* seems to represent the rough breathing in *ῥομφαία*. Though I can find no parallels for this elsewhere in Latin, one may compare the transfer of certain Germanic roots into Romance; e. g., *ahd*, *hring*, *Ital.*, *aringo*. See DIEZ, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch* (1887), p. 25.⁴ v, *mirabilis*.⁵ v, *nom.*⁶ v, *paradysum*; T, ὁ δεσπότης τοῦ παραδείσου.⁷ v, *rpā*.⁸ v, *igneam currem*.⁹ v, *quae*.¹⁰ Or is the reading *monens*? Either is mild for *σκληρύνει*.¹¹ Rom. 6: 9. This citation is not in T, and there are various other differences in the closing words. I have not attempted to remedy the Latin text, which is obviously corrupt in several details.¹² v, *sclm*.

THE ACTUAL FORCE OF THE FRENCH *NE*.

EVERY learner of modern French is obliged to memorize certain uses of the negative particle *ne* which seem, at least to English speakers, inconsistent and useless, and which the French themselves seldom attempt to justify, no matter how carefully they observe them.

Why should a people so linguistically self-conscious, so fond since the days of Ronsard of improving its speech, generally so exact in its expression, permit itself to say *rentrez avant qu'il ne sorte*, or, *ils sont plus riches qu'ils n'étaient hier*? Survivals these usages are, of course, from the confused way of speaking characteristic of a semi-civilized race, whose language admitted many inaccuracies and inconsistencies. Other languages show similar *bizarrerries*, but the French was once remarkably full of them. Before the middle of the fifteenth century, to choose a dividing line, the negative adverb drifted into and out of subordinate clauses in a most bewildering fashion. Grammatical ruling was, of course, practically non-existent for the vernacular, and wherever confusion of thought could intrude itself the idea of negation seemed to come and go at will.

Rabelais, a little archaic in his own time, has an assortment of the inconsistencies referred to. He often omits *ne* from the subjunctive clause after an expression of fearing, as do also Calvin and Commynes—a situation in which modern French exacts its use. He occasionally has no negative in the proposition which forms the second member of a comparison. This omission is to be seen in the writings of Calvin and Commynes, the Heptameron, and other works of the time. On the other hand, these authors use *ne* in subordinate clauses where we should not find it in modern French. Rabelais says: *faisant défense rigoureuse qu'ils n'eussent à l'ouvrir*, etc.; and *pour les affaïser et empêcher de non soi complandre en justice*, etc. Calvin wrote: *je vous défende ne jurer du tout*. Such examples are to be found in abundance in every book of those days.

Now, it is not at all surprising that surplus negatives should have dotted the language of Rabelais and of the men he took it from. What does astonish is that certain of these apparently illogical constructions remain as correct today, not merely admitted, but prescribed by grammarian, lexicographer, and Academy. The only obvious explanation of this phenomenon seems to be that the Frenchman of our time does not understand the adverb *ne* just as he would understand it if he considered it exactly equivalent to its etymon, the Latin *non*. For him it is a negative, of course, but he finds some shade of negation in the word less convincing than in *ne . . . pas*.

It is not necessary to dwell here upon the evolution of *ne*. Coming from *non* through the intermediate *nen*, it has no doubt, even since it assumed its present spelling, lost much of its tonic force. As a rule, in colloquial French now its vowel is rarely heard at all. As is the case with other parts of speech, notably the pronouns, it exists alongside a stronger form, *non*.

At a very early day the need of reinforcing the negative idea by some word denoting quantity, as *pas*, *mie*, *goutte*, etc.—a need due to the vivacity of a semi-barbarous people and the lack of linguistic exactitude more than to any inherent weakness in the negative particle *non* or *nen*—assisted greatly the reduction of *non* to its present insignificance. The words *pas*, *point*, *jamais*, *rien*, *personne*, *plus*, etc., soon came to be considered true negatives in themselves, and the *ne* which precedes or follows them in construction is now felt only as a necessary concomitant. More than this, to the illiterate French and to young children the *ne* has no rôle to play, *pas*, *personne*, *plus*, and the like being assumed as fully negative: *Je sais pas*; *j'ai vu personne*; *fais pas ça!* Even in the speech of the educated and in literary French these words now, when used out of regular construction, carry the idea of complete negation.

These commonplaces are introduced merely to call attention to the extent to which the centuries of use of such words have reduced the force of the particle *ne*. So great is this attenuation that, with the exception of certain stereotyped expressions which from habitual employment are known as negative, *ne* used alone

in a sentence does not convey an idea of complete negation to the French hearer. The writer has made the experiment a great number of times by uttering a sentence like *il n'aime beaucoup cela*, or, *nous ne l'avons vu*. The effect is invariably to lead to a misunderstanding or to call out the *pardon? plait-il? vous dites?*—which denote failure to understand at all. There is no doubt felt, however, as to the complete negative force of *ne* when used alone in certain expressions or with certain verbs. *Pouvoir*, *savoir*, *oser*, and *cesser* constantly appear in a negative sense with *ne* merely. We have, besides, formulas like *à Dieu ne plaise*, *à vous ne déplaît*, etc. Such expressions, and the use noted in the case of the four verbs, are no doubt survivals of the construction common at the time when *pas*, *point*, etc., were not yet felt to be necessary to the negative form. It is true that the French say *je ne saurais* or *il ne saurait* in a special sense, but apart from that usage the employment of the four verbs in question after *ne* without *pas* or *point* is much more frequent in written than in spoken French. It is noticeable, too, that in the written language of today the phrases like *à vous ne déplaît* are at least obsolescent. Let us leave, then, these few uses of *ne* as a word completely negative in itself to the category of archaisms, whose tendency is to disappear with the constant weakening of the atonic particle. The exigencies of poetry favor their employment occasionally; but it is safe to say that if such combinations when heard in colloquial style were not *familiar formulæ* they would not be understood at the present day as fully negative.

We must note that in the evolution of the French negative proposition there was a time when *pas*, *point*, etc., supplementing *ne*, had not yet become indispensable. One might add emphasis by using *pas*, but *ne* alone was equal to the task of saying *not*. At that period the negative, since called *expletive*, which appeared in subordinate clauses was frequently *ne . . . pas* or even *non . . . pas*. In our day it is only *ne*. *Tu juges mes desseins autres qu'ils ne sont pas*, writes Corneille.¹ M^{lle} de Scudéry says: *deux jours depuis que nous n'avions point vu le prince*. Molière even has this use in many places, as *vous avez plus faim*

¹ *Citandre*, IV, 6, 1203.

que vous ne pensez pas. It was a popular use and lingers yet among the lowest class. But when, in the seventeenth century, the rules for negation became substantially what they are now, the particle *ne* (expletive) remained *alone* in such positions. There can be no doubt that *ne*, constantly waning in negative force, began to be felt as less illogical here than the fuller *ne pas* or *ne point*. It has been allowed to remain. Let us see if its retention can be justified, or at least explained, and what is the present feeling of those who use it as to its signification and value.

If we take two phrases, such as *avant qu'il ne pleuve* and *il n'y a pas d'hommes qui ne soient quelquefois malheureux*, we find that from the English standpoint the *ne* in the former must not be translated, whereas in the latter the *ne* must be given the full meaning conveyed by our word "not." This will be found true in all phrases in which *ne* appears without *pas* or other word to complete the negative sense: either *ne* has no meaning for the English translator or it has the full force of a negative. But translation is notoriously treason, and the feeling, common to all who know the relation of *ne* to Latin *non*, viz., that *ne* ought to mean "not," is by no means necessarily the feeling of the Frenchman who utters the word. Does the Frenchman, in using *ne* without *pas*, attach to it the meaning of our word "not," or does he consider it a purely superfluous word and without signification?

When the French say, *rentrez avant qu'il ne pleuve*, we cannot suppose that they feel themselves to be saying, "come in before it does *not* rain." We choose rather to assume that in such a case the *ne* must be meaningless. When, however, we take a sentence like *il n'y avait pas d'homme qui ne fût découragé*, the unmistakable negative force of the *ne* in the relative clause compels us to conclude that *ne* has yet too much power to be passed over as quite devoid of meaning in any combination of words whatever. It is of no service in the search for the true influence of *ne* when used alone to say that *avant qu'il ne pleuve* is the result of a confusion of ideas, or that the clause *qui ne fût découragé* is due to a disinclination to repeat the word *pas* of the principal clause. To the writer it seems likely that no inconsist-

ency in these two sentences is now felt by the French, for the reason that to them *ne*, when used without *pas* or other form of "complementary negative," has merely the office of suggesting a negative idea without actually positing it. To attempt an elucidation let us take the principal constructions in which *ne* appears without a "complementary negative," and let us investigate their respective meanings.

Such a sentence as *dites le lui avant qu'il ne sorte* has strictly, according to many grammarians, a purpose of prevention: "tell him so before he goes out" (*that he may not go out*). The office of *ne* is here merely to suggest the negative notion. Again, *ren-trez avant qu'il ne pleuve*, although a sentence which might omit the *ne*, is perfectly correct French as it stands. Here there is no chance of preventing anything. The *ne* serves to indicate the presence of another idea, viz., that *it shall not be raining when the person spoken to comes in*. In other words, the thought of the speaker is double, "come in before it rains" and "come in when it shall not yet be raining." Such an expression as *avant qu'il ne pleuve pas* would be complete confusion, but the phrase with *ne* alone is not confused nor confusing, because it contains, so to speak, but the *shadow of a negation*, not the negation itself.

The well-defined use of *ne* in clauses depending upon verbs and expressions denoting apprehension is another example of the particle's peculiar office and peculiar meaning in everyday French. We say *on craint qu'un accident ne soit arrivé*. What is really feared in this case? *Que l'accident soit arrivé*. But the hope which human nature always finds to counterbalance a fear leads to the introduction of the word *ne*. It is hoped that the accident may not have happened, and the *ne*, which does not express a complete negation, serves to indicate the existence of an idea which is in no wise contradictory of the real signification of the phrase, but which may well be coexistent with it. Here again, then, the force of *ne* is merely suggestively negative. The construction is due, if we please, to a confusion of ideas, but its toleration in modern French is due to the faint shade of a negation to which *ne* has been reduced. It seems to the writer that no refutation of this reasoning is to be found in the fact that expres-

sions of fear, dread, apprehension, and the like, *when negative themselves*, do not admit of the presence of *ne* in the dependent clause. In such cases there is no coexistent notion of hope.

It might be asked here why verbs meaning "doubt," "deny," "prevent," and "avoid" should show such differences in regard to the presence of *ne* in the dependent clause. There is no obvious answer to the question. In some cases the French has preserved the use of a word of negation in the subordinate proposition, and in others it has not. That it has preserved it at all is due to the peculiar character assumed by *ne*, which has permitted this survival, but not compelled it. As a matter of fact, *douter* when affirmative is not followed by *ne* in the dependent clause; but we must say, for instance, *ils ne doutent point que nous ne soyons riches*. Here the *ne* in the dependent part of the sentence serves merely to hint at the idea coexistent in the speaker's mind, namely, "they do not, in their doubt, believe that we are not rich." So also in the case of *nier*, we say, *je nie qu'ils soient généreux*, because the French custom is to express such a thought directly and to admit no implication. When, however, *nier* itself is taken negatively the implication due to association of ideas in pairs of opposites is seen, and *ne* appears in the dependent clause to mark its presence. *Empêcher*, "to prevent," throws light upon the question with the same revelation as to the function of the negative particle when used alone in the dependent clause: *vous empêchez que les autres ne parlent; n'empêchez pas que nos amis ne sortent*. In each example the double character which the second *ne* gives to the sentence is unmistakable. Preventing the doing of something is really compelling someone *not* to do that thing; hence the negative tinge of the second half of each phrase, which the *ne* serves to impart.

To take one more example of usage of this kind, let us notice the function of *ne* expletive with a compound past tense in expressions which have to do with lapse of time. *Il y a deux mois que je ne l'ai vu* must be turned into English either by neglecting entirely the *ne* or by making it equivalent to our word "not." We consider that we translate the sentence when we say, "It is two months since I *have seen* him," or, "I *have not seen* him

for two months," but neither of our phrases alone gives the exact force of the original. A combination of the two might do so, were it possible to combine them. In the example cited the French partly say that "there are two months that I have not seen him," but the survival in this typical formula of *ne* without a second negative word, *pas*, leaves room for the implication "two months ago I saw him, however." We may pass over the similar construction found in such a proposition as *je ne l'ai vu depuis deux mois*, as merely one more instance of the peculiar influence of *ne* in the phrase. The inference that the speaker has seen the person in question as recently as two months ago is not only permissible, as indeed it would be if the words ran *je ne l'ai pas vu depuis deux mois*, but by the absence of the "completing negative" the inference is forced into the character of an inevitable implication. *Je ne l'ai vu depuis deux mois* would be a falsehood if the speaker had not seen the person referred to two months before. *Je ne l'ai pas vu depuis deux mois* might be truth even if he had never seen him.

It is clear—for the simplest experiments will show it—that *ne* alone is not sufficient to render a proposition fully negative. Does not the single word *ne* as employed nowadays sometimes do more than make the implied affirmative admissible; i. e., does it not make such affirmative inevitable? Certainly there are cases besides the one just cited in which the *ne* unaccompanied by *pas* seems to possess that power.

To consider one of these cases, we may ask, if one might say *il n'y avait pas un homme qui ne fût pas effrayé*, why does one say *qui ne fût effrayé*? Most probably because today the presence of *ne* as it stands, unaided, in the dependent clause calls attention, as *ne . . . pas* in the same clause would not do, to the real affirmative meaning of the sentence, viz., that every man without exception was terrified—a proposition which the negative form renders more forcible.

The instances bearing on this question might be multiplied, but one or two more must suffice. The phrase *si je ne me trompe* is as common as any similar formula in modern French. Can its conservation of *ne* without *pas* be looked upon as anything more

than a purposeless survival? It seems as if the *ne* so used has a function which *ne . . . pas* would not fulfil. The expression as we have it undoubtedly means more than *si je ne me trompe pas*; its force is rather *à moins que je ne me trompe*, i. e., "unless I am mistaken (*yet I may be mistaken*).” This last thought is not to be avoided when *si je ne me trompe* is deliberately used instead of *si je ne me trompe pas*. Examples of the same use of *ne* with other verbs, after *si* introducing the same kind of a conditional clause, are to be found in recent French both spoken and written.

As another case let us notice the office of *ne* in the rhetorical question. *Que ne le dites-vous franchement?* "why do you not say so frankly?" is not equivalent to a question that requires an answer. That would be *pourquoi ne le dites-vous pas franchement?* the negative being fully expressed. The use of *ne* as an incomplete negative after the interrogative *que* seems to have been retained in order that the positive exhortation which the question implies, *dites-le franchement*, may be present as an inevitable suggestion. The sentence with *pourquoi* followed by *ne . . . pas* is an inquiry which may indicate a course of action as well as demand a reply; but *que ne le dites vous?* means, first and foremost, encouragement; secondarily and remotely, it calls perhaps for an explanation of failure to adopt the counsel offered. Here, as before, the *ne* standing alone is merely an innuendo of a negative. It not only does not exclude the inferential affirmative idea, but it would seem to compel its recognition. So, also, in *qui n'a ses défauts?* the *ne* has been unconsciously retained, without *pas*, because the intention is really to present the idea that we *all have* our failings. An inspection of the phrases given in any standard French grammar under the head of the negative adverb will serve to confirm these remarks.

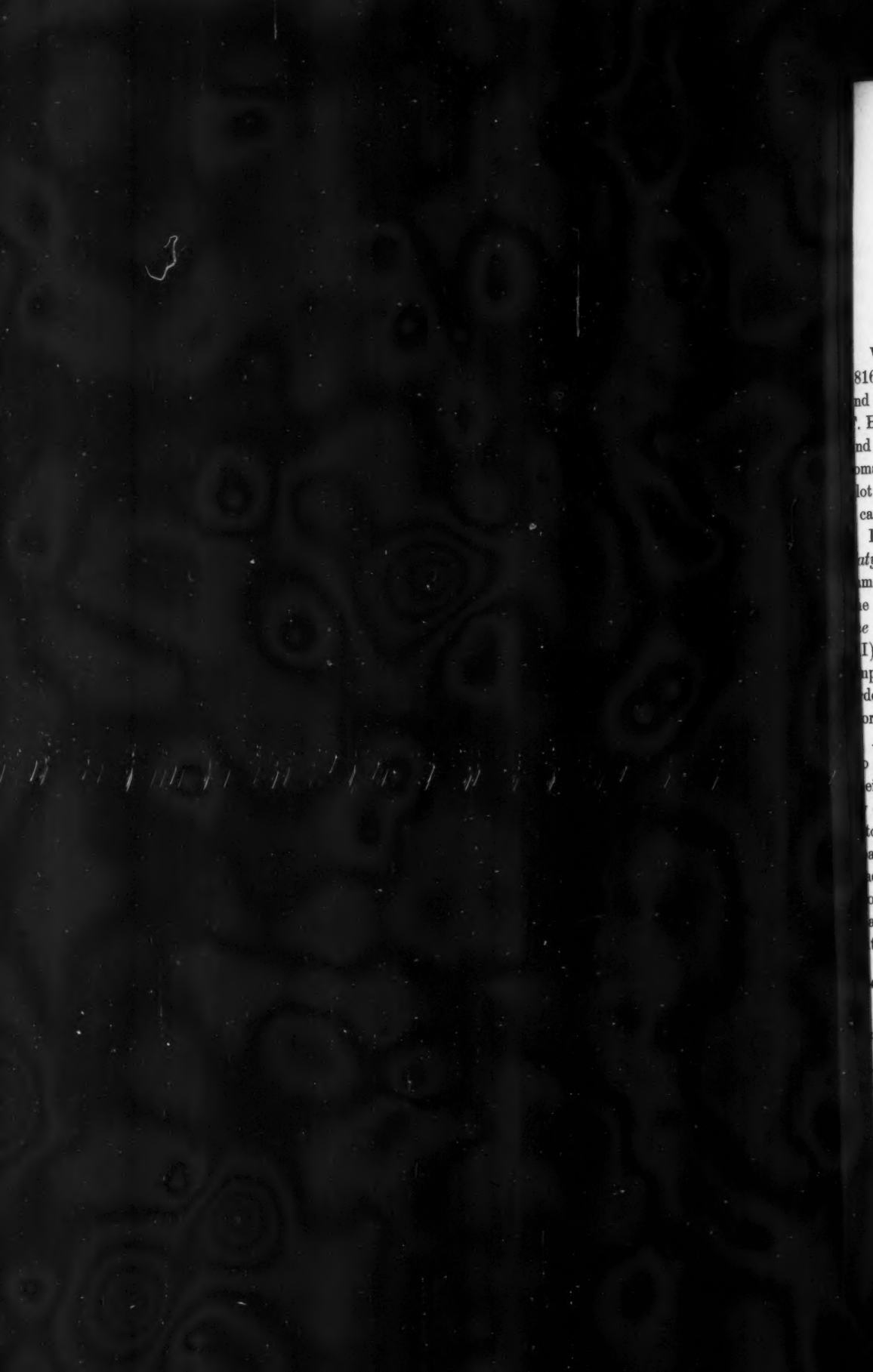
To sum up, it may be said that the particle *ne*, in its steadily diminishing force as a word denoting negation, has reached a point where its presence unaided by a complementary negative word indicates the affirmation of a proposition coexistent in mental association, but not verbally formulated.

Perhaps this incomplete presentation of a phenomenon which

the writer has never seen discussed may lead to the shedding of further light by persons whose familiarity with languages other than the French has enabled them to quote analogous peculiarities. Meyer-Lübke (Vol. III, chap. 5) notes that "the distinction, so important for the Latin, between *non* and *ne*, i. e., between the simple negation and *repulsion*, was lost" in the Romance, and that *ne* Latin was replaced solely by *non*. Has not the French, by the general adoption of the type *ne . . . pas*, restored in a measure this distinction of the parent tongue, and given to *ne* the lesser office abolished in Romance?

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THE SOURCES OF BEN JONSON'S VOLPONE.

WILLIAM GIFFORD, in his edition of Ben Jonson's works in 1816, pointed out similarities between certain portions of *Volpone* and passages in Petronius Arbiter.¹ Following up this suggestion, H. Holthausen² seeks to show "dass der englische dichter die idee und mehrere episoden seines dramas dem satirischen schelmenroman des alten Römers verdankt." Koepfel³ likewise refers the plot of *Volpone* to the *Satyricon* of Petronius. No one, so far as we can learn, has suggested any other possible source.

But those who have assigned the source of *Volpone* to the *Satyricon* have overlooked, it seems to me, another version of the same story, presenting the same plot, and closer in its details to the English play. This story is found in Lucian's *Dialogues of the Dead*, Nos. V-IX (and, as a supplement to No. VIII, No. XI).⁴ It may be easily seen that, though different names are employed, the dialogues all refer to the same character, and in the order in which the author has placed them, they tell a complete story. This story is as follows:

A wealthy, childless old man is besieged by legacy-hunters. To increase his already large fortune, he slyly urges them on in their gifts: (1) by pretending to be older than he really is; (2) by coughing a great deal, and, whenever one of the suitors comes to his presence, seeming to be just ready to embark on Charon's boat; and (3) by declaring to each in succession that he has just made the will in his favor. Three suitors, in particular, are brought out and mentioned by name. One wears himself to death with sheer anxiety; the second tries to bribe the old man's faithful servant to administer poison, and so hasten matters; the

¹ See *Works of Ben Jonson*, ed. CUNNINGHAM (3 vols., London, 1897), Vol. I, p. 338, n. 3; Vol. II, n. 3.

² In an article, "Die Quelle von Ben Jonson's Volpone," *Anglia*, Vol. XII, pp. 519-25.

³ In his *Quellen-Studien zu den Dramen Ben Jonson's, John Marston's, und Beaumont's Fletcher's*.

⁴ Between the first edition of LUCIAN in 1475 and the writing of *Volpone* there appeared no less than seventy-five editions, in whole or in part, of the Greek satirist.

third thinks it a fine stroke of policy to register in public his will, in which he makes the old man his heir, hoping that the old gentleman, moved by such a mark of affection, would emulate his example and do the same. Each in the end is brought to distress. Finally, when the old man himself comes to die, he has the laugh on all his plotting suitors by making a true will, leaving all his property to a favorite young slave, who at once rides out and is received by the authorities as "more nobly born than Kodrus, handsomer than Nireus, and more prudent than Odysseus."

The incident in Petronius occupies but a few paragraphs in a long narrative of amorous adventures. As Professor Holthausen points out, it could have suggested in a general way the plot of *Volpone*. But there are no close resemblances of phrase or thought, no "hallmarks," so to speak, which show clearly that Jonson had this particular narrative in view rather than any other presenting the same story.

On the other hand, the account in Lucian could just as easily have supplied the plot; and I shall try to show reasonable evidence that it did.

Jonson was thoroughly familiar with Lucian, and he frequently went to him for material. In *Cynthia's Revels* he refers to him by name:¹ Act I, scene 1, of the same play is borrowed with slight change from the *Dialogues of the Gods*;² the purging of the playwright in the *Poetaster* comes from *Lexiphanes*; *News from the New World Discovered in the Moon* takes material freely from the dialogue *Icara-Menippus*;³ and there is more or less decided borrowing in other of Jonson's works.⁴

Moreover, in writing *Volpone* itself, Jonson (who seems to have

¹ Cri. That's to be argued, Amorphus, if we may credit Lucian, who, in his *Encomio Demosthensis*, affirms he never drunk but water in any of his compositions.

Amo. Lucian is absurd; he knew nothing: I will believe mine own travels before all the Lucians of Europe. He doth feed you with fittons, figments and leasings.

Cri. Indeed, I think, next a traveller, he does prettily well.

² *Dialogues*, Nos. VII and XXIV.

³ Jonson's indebtedness to Lucian in this masque has not been pointed out, so far as I know.

⁴ Most of these borrowings have been noted by Upton or Whalley.

written the play in a hurry¹) goes straight to Lucian for material. The masque presented by Nano, Castrone, and Androgyno in Act I, scene 1, is taken wholly from Lucian's *Dream*; the monologue of the parasite, Act III, scene 1, the reader of Lucian will at once recognize as inspired by the dialogue *Parasitism as an Art*;² two proverbial sayings are taken from the Greek writer; and the remarks on gold, Act V, scene 1, are taken with little change from the *Dream*.³

Mosca: Why, your gold
Is such another med'cine, it dries up
All those offensive savours: it transforms
The most deformed, and restores them lovely,
As 'twere the strange poetical girdle. Jove
Could not invent t' himself a shroud more subtle
To pass Acrisius' guards

Lucian, in the *Dream*, speaking of gold, says:

You see what a world of good gold accomplishes, since, like the famous girdle the poets sing about, it transforms the ugly and makes them attractive. . . . Whereas the father of all men and gods, when in his youth he fell in love with that famous maiden of Argolis, having nothing more lovely into which he might transform himself, nor knowing how he could corrupt the watch set by Acrisius—of course you've heard how he turned into gold.⁴

With such facts before us we are prepared to believe that Jonson got from Lucian as well the plot of the story.

The old man of Petronius, vagabond, philosopher, poet, with a mania for spouting bad verse, must undergo quite a transformation to become Volpone. Holthausen admits this when he says of Volpone: ". . . nur ist er nicht ein zufällig in die stadt verschlagener pechvogel, wie der dichter des Petronius, sondern ein bereits begüterter, eingessener 'magnifico.'" But the old man of Lucian and the old man of Jonson are quite alike, and

¹ See the Prologue:

" . . . but this his creature,
Which was two months since no feature;
And though he dares give them five lives to mend it,
'Tis known, five weeks fully penned it,
From his own hand, without a coadjutor,
Novice, journeyman or tutor."

² Noted by UPTON in his *Remarks*, 1749.

³ Pointed out by Whalley.

⁴ The translation here used is that by W. D. SHELDON, *A Second Century Satirist; or, Dialogues and Stories from Lucian* (Philadelphia, 1901).

little change is necessary in worldly position, or mental or moral characteristics. Even in the physical description of the two there is a resemblance. The old man in *Dialogue VI* is described: "his nose stuffed with phlegm and his eyes with rheum;" and in *Dialogue IX*: "blear-eyed, into the bargain, and my nose stuffed with phlegm." Such disagreeable descriptions naturally stick in one's mind; accordingly, we find Volpone described by Jonson with similar phrases. Mosca says:

And from his brain . . .
Flows a cold sweat, with a continual rheum
Forth the resolved corners of his eyes.

And again, pretending that Volpone is deaf, he shouts into his ear:

Would you once close
Those filthy eyes of yours, that flow with slime,
Like two frog pits . . .

Corvino: His nose is like a common sewer, still running.

At the opening of the play Volpone indulges in a monologue which is intended to possess the audience with the exact state of affairs. For the purpose of comparing this with the state of affairs in Lucian, I quote the monologue in sections, inserting after each section the corresponding passage in the *Dialogues of the Dead*.¹

I have no wife, no parent, child, ally,
To give my substance to; but whom I make
Must be my heir; and this makes men observe me:
This draws new clients daily to my house,
Women and men, of every sex and age,

Dialogue V: "You know that old man, I mean the very aged and infirm fellow, the rich Eukrates, who has no children, but fifty thousand legacy-hunters."

That bring me presents, send me plate, coin, jewels,

Dialogue IX: ". . . all sorts of presents were brought to me from every corner of the earth, the most beautiful conceivable."

With hope that when I die (which they expect
Each greedy minute)

Dialogue VI: One of the suitors describes the old man as "always seeming to be just at the last gasp;" and again, "I, imagining him to be

¹The translation of the dialogues is that by HOWARD WILLIAMS, *Dialogues of Lucian*, translated (London, 1888).

almost at the next moment ready to embark upon his bier, would send him a number of things"

it shall then return

Ten-fold upon them; whilst some, covetous
Above the rest, seek to engross me whole,
And counter-work, the one unto the other,

Dialogue VI: ". . . . you the whole time were plotting against him and expecting his legacy." *V*: "And when he is ill, their designs are very evident to all."

Contend in gifts, as they would seem in love:

Dialogue IX: POLYSTRATUS [the old man]: No, but I had ten thousand lovers. SIMYLUS (holding his sides): I couldn't help laughing. *You* lovers, at your age, with four teeth in your head!

All which I suffer, playing with their hopes,
And am content to coin them into profit,
And look upon their kindness, and take more,
And look on that; still bearing them in hand,
Letting the cherry knock against their lips,
And draw it by their mouths, and back again.

Dialogue V: "But he, indeed, charmingly cheats and buoys them up with vain hopes exceedingly."

Mosca enters, bringing in the masque, which, as we have observed, is taken from Lucian's *Dream*. Then Voltore, the first suitor, knocks. Volpone at once pretends sickness.

Volpone: Loving Mosca!

'Tis well: my pillow now and let him enter.

[*Exit MOSCA.*]

Now, my feign'd cough, my phtisic, and my gout,
My apoplexy, palsy, and catarrhs,
Help, with your forced functions, this my posture,
Wherein, this three year, I have milked their hopes.

He comes; I hear him—Uh! [*coughing*] Uh! Uh! Uh! O—

Re-enter MOSCA, introducing VOLTORE with a piece of Plate.

With this compare the following from Lucian:

True, yet how many things of mine Thukrites devoured, while always seeming to be just at the last gasp, and (whenever I came into the house) groaning and croaking, in a manner in the very depths of his chest, for all the world like some unformed chicken from an egg: so that I, imagining him to be almost at the next moment ready to embark upon his bier, would send him a number of things, that my rivals in affection might not surpass me in the magnitude of their gifts.

The plate having been presented, Voltore says:

Voltore: I'm sorry,

To see you still thus weak.

Mosca [*aside*]: That he's not weaker.

Volpone: You are too munificent.

Voltore: No, sir; would to heaven,

I could as well give health to you, as that plate!

Dialogue V: ". . . and, when he is ill, their designs are very evident to all: but, all the same, they engage to offer a sacrifice if he should get better."

The suitors come one by one, and Mosca declares to each in succession that the will had just been made in his favor.

Mosca: You are his heir, sir.

Voltore: Am I? . . . But am I sole heir?

Mosca: Without a partner, sir: confirmed this morning:

The wax is warm yet, and the ink scarce dry
Upon the parchment.

Voltore: Happy, happy me!

Dialogue IX: "In public I was accustomed to declare that I had left each of them my heir; and he believed it and equipped himself with more wheedling flattery than ever."

Next come two incidents, not even hinted at in Petronius, but in Lucian constituting each a dialogue.

The first is the poison incident. In *Dialogue VII* one of the suitors, impatient at the old man's prolonged life, tries to bribe the faithful servant to administer poison and thus hasten matters. The servant appears to assent, but by skilfully changing cups poisons the suitor instead.

Corbaccio tries to persuade Mosca to give the old man a drug.

Corb: Why? I myself

Stood by while it was made, saw all the ingredients:

And know it cannot but most gently work:

My life for his, 'tis but to make him sleep.

Volp. [*aside*]: Ay, his last sleep, if he would take it.

Again, in III, 5, Corbaccio says to Mosca:

Could'st thou not give him a dram?

And in the last act, Mosca, accusing Corbaccio, says:

. . . and would have hired

Me to the poisoning of my patron, sir.

The second is the will incident. In *Dialogue VIII* the suitor Knemon says:

I was in the habit of courting and flattering Hermolaus, the millionaire, who was childless, in the expectation of his dying before me; and he admitted my courtship with no unpleasurable feeling. It appeared to me, in fact, to be a clever device, that of registering my will in public, in which I have left him all my wealth, so that he might emulate my example and do the same.

The sudden fall of the roof on his head, however, carried him off to Hades, where he is lamenting that his property had been snatched from those whom he really intended to have it. Again, in *Dialogue XI* the same theme is developed. Two very old men, each of whom expected to outlive the other, are the characters.

They used to court and wheedle one the other for the sake of the expected legacy (being of the same age), and publicly registered their wills; Moerichus, if he should die first, leaving Aristeas master of all his property, and Aristeas Moerichus, should he predecease the other.

Corbaccio and Volpone are supposed to be about the same age; Mosca refers to them as "two old rotten sepulchres;" but Corbaccio, of course, believes that he will outlast Volpone.

Corb: Excellent! Excellent! sure I shall outlast him.

With Corbaccio in this frame of mind, Mosca says to him, I, 1:

Mosca: Now would I counsel you, make home with speed;

There, frame a will; whereto you shall inscribe

My master your sole heir.

Corb: And disinherit

My son!

Mosca: O, sir, the better: for that colour

Shall make it much more taking.

Corb: O, but colour?

Mosca: This will, sir, you shall send it unto me.

Now, when I come to inforce, as I will do,

Your cares, your watchings, and your many prayers,

Your more than many gifts, your this day's present,

And last, produce your Will; where, without thought

Or least regard unto your proper issue,

A son so brave, and highly meriting,

The stream of your diverted love hath thrown you

Upon my master, and made him your heir:

He cannot be so stupid, or stone-dead,

But out of conscience, and mere gratitude—

Corb: He must pronounce me his?

In connection with this will incident there is an interesting parallelism of metaphor. Knemon, in Hades, is complaining to a friend and says:

Now Hermolaus [the old man] holds my property like some sea-wolf, and *has snatched away the hook with the bait.*¹

When Corbaccio hurries out to do Mosca's bidding, the parasite turns to Volpone and says:

Contain
Your flux of laughter, sir: you know this hope
Is such a bait, it covers any hook.

In *Dialogue V* Pluto says to Hermes, in regard to the old man:

Let him live on, Hermes; to the ninety years he has already reached dealing out so many more again, and, if, at least, it were possible, even yet more. But as for those fawning flatterers . . .

And in *Dialogue VI* Pluto says:

Well done, Thukrites; may you live to the longest possible period, at once rich and having the laugh against such gentlemen.

Mosca expresses the very same wish:

Mosca: And that when I am lost in blended dust,

And hundreds such as I am, in succession—

Volp.: Nay, that were too much, Mosca.

Mosca: You shall live,

Still to delude these harpies.

Volpone's idea of making out a true will in favor of his parasite, Mosca, in order to have the laugh on all his fawning suitors, was doubtless suggested by *Dialogue IX*. The old man, in Hades, is talking to a friend:

Polystatus: . . . but all the time, I held in my possession the other my real will, and left it behind me, with an injunction to one and all of them to go to the devil.

Simylus: And whom did your last will contain as your heir? Some one of your own family, I presume?

Polystatus: By heaven, no, but a certain recently-purchased handsome boy, a Phrygian.

The further scheme of having Mosca, already publicly declared the heir, go forth through the streets in Volpone's habit of a *clarissimo*, splendid in his newly acquired wealth, was possibly sug-

¹ καὶ νῦν Ἑρμόλαος ἔχει τὰμὰ ὥσπερ τις λάβραξ καὶ τὸ ἀγκίστρον τῷ δελείᾳτι συγκатаσπᾶσαι.

gested by two passages in the *Dream*, from which, as we have pointed out, Jonson was borrowing. Micyllus, the cobbler, having dreamed that he was suddenly left the sole heir to a certain rich old man, is relating his dream:

When I rode out in a carriage, with a span of white horses, with my head proudly thrown back, the cynosure of all eyes, and the object of their envy. A crowd ran ahead or led the way on horseback and more lagged on behind. Clad in the old gentleman's clothing, and wearing some sixteen massive rings upon my fingers

So likewise, in the same piece, Simon the beggar, suddenly left heir to a rich childless old man:

rides out dressed in purple and scarlet, and has servants and carriages and golden beakers and tables with ivory feet, and receives the homage of all. . . . To crown all, the ladies are in love with him already, whereas he gives himself airs in their presence. . . .

In *Dialogue IX* the recently purchased slave, left as heir, is thus spoken of by Polystratus:

But, however, he was much more worthy to be my heir than they, even though he was a foreigner and a plague: whom even the great people themselves are already courting. He, then, was my heir, and now he is received among the nobles of the land (shaved though his chin was, and though he did not know a word of Greek), and is proclaimed to be more nobly born than Kodrus, handsomer than Nireus, and more prudent than Odysseus.

Mosca is similarly received by the avocatori at the trial,

4 *Avoc.*: We have done ill, by a public officer
To send for him, if he be heir.

3 *Avoc.*: 'Tis true
He is a man of great estate, now left.

4 *Avoc.*: Go you, and learn his name, and say the court
Entreats his presence here, but to the clearing
Of some few doubts. [Exit Notary.

* * * * *

4 *Avoc.*: Here come's the gentleman; make him way.

Enter MOSCA.

3 *Avoc.*: A stool.

4 *Avoc.*: A proper man; and were Volpone dead
A fit match for my daughter. [Aside.

3 *Avoc.*: Give him way.

To Petronius Holthausen assigns the source of the incident of

Corvino's offering his beautiful and chaste wife, Celia, for the healing of Volpone. The following is the passage in Petronius:¹

Matrona inter primas honesta, Philomela nomine, quae multas saepe hereditates officio aetatis extorserat, tum anus et floris extincti, filium filiamque ingerebat orbis senibus, et per hanc successionem artem suam perseverabat extendere. ea ergo ad Eumolpum venit et commendare liberos suos eius prudentiae bonitatisque . . . credere se et vota sua, illum esse solum in toto orbe terrarum, qui praeceptis etiam salubribus instruere juvenes quotidie posset. ad summum, relinquare se pueros in domo Eumolpi, ut illum loquentem audirent . . . quae sola posset hereditas juvenibus dari. nec aliter fecit ac dixerat, filiamque speciosissimam cum fratre ephebo in cubiculo reliquit simulavitque se in templum ire ad vota nuncupanda. Eumolpus, qui tam frugi erat ut illi etiam ego puer viderer, non distulit puellam invitare ad pigiciaca sacra. sed et prodagricum se esse lumborumque soluturum omnibus dixerat, et si non servasset integram simulationem, periclitabatur totam paene tragoediam evertere. . . .

According to Holthausen, Philomela is changed to the merchant Corvino, and the children to Celia.

Upton, it seems to me, pointed out the real source of this incident in his *Remarks*, 1749. He refers it to the *Satires* of Horace, II, 5. Horace, we hardly need say, was Jonson's favorite author; a glance at the notes collected by Gifford will show how frequently in this very play the dramatist went to the *Satires*. Moreover, this particular satire (II, 5) treats the same theme that *Volpone* does, and hence would naturally come to Jonson's mind. Ulysses visits Tiresias to ask how he may recuperate his lost fortune. Tiresias advises him to find some rich old man who has no children and make diligent suit to him by sending him presents, etc., very much as in Lucian. And then:

Tiresias: . . . scortator erit? cave te roget: ultro

Penelopen facilis potiori trade.

Ulysses:

Putasne,

Perduci, poterit tam frugi tamque pudica,

Quam nequiere proci recto depellere cursu?

To this as the suggestion add (as Holthausen) the account of the aged King David in 1 Kings 1:1-5, and we have a simple explanation of the source.

¹*Petronii Satiriae et liber Priapeorum*, FRANCISCUS BUECHLER (Berolini, 1882), p. 106; 140.

Holthausen also thinks that the name Corvino was probably suggested to Jonson by the picture in Petronius of Crotona, represented as

oppidum tanquam in pestilentia campos, in quibus nihil aliud est nisi cadavera, quae lacerantur, aut *corvi* qui lacerant.

But this same satire of Horace's could as readily have suggested the name:

plerumque recoctus
Scriba ex quinqueviro *corvum* deludet hiantem.

The reference, of course, is to the well-known fable of "The Crow and the Fox;" and that Jonson really had this fable in mind is shown by several passages.

Volpone: Methinks

Yet, you, that are so traded in the world,
A witty merchant, the fine bird, Corvino,
That have such moral emblems on your name,
Should not have sung your shame, and dropt your cheese,
To let the Fox laugh at your emptiness.

From this satire may have come also the suggestion of making one of Volpone's suitors a lawyer, who defends his case in court.

Magna minorve foro si res certabitur olim;
Vivet uter locuples sine gnatis, improbus ultro
Qui meliorem audax vocet in jus, illius esto
Defensor: fama civem causaque priorem
Sperne, domi si gnatus erit, foecundave conjux.
Quinte, puta, aut Publi, (gaudent prænominē molles
Auriculæ,) tibi me virtus tua fecit amicum:
Jus anceps novi; causas defendere possum:
Eripiet quivis oculos citius mihi, quam te
Contentum quassa nuce pauperet

But when we begin to trace classical borrowings in Jonson, we must set a limit; and the limit of this paper has been reached. It was my purpose merely to point out one of the sources of *Volpone* that heretofore has been overlooked by students of Ben Jonson.

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THE BALLAD OF LORD BAKEMAN.

THERE has come into my hands recently¹ a humble but very interesting little volume of British and American ballads. The first fifty pages and an unknown number at the end are lost, as well as title-page and cover, so that the title and the date and place of publication can be only conjectured. The pages ($2\frac{3}{4} \times 4\frac{1}{2}$ inches in size) have the running head *Popular Songs*, which was no doubt the title. The date is some time after 1835, for one of the pieces contains that date:

In the month of February, 1835,

She to the port of London in the Sarah did arrive.

That it is an American compilation is abundantly proved by the contents. It contains "The Taxation of America," several pieces celebrating American victories in the War of 1812, and a mournful ballad about Sarah Maria Cornell and the wicked parson Avery, telling us of the latter that

Now in Rhode Island, bound is he,

In May, to await his destiny.

The facts that only inland victories of the War of 1812 are celebrated and that the Mexican War is not mentioned seem to indicate that it was published in the inland states, and not much later than 1835. It has evidently seen hard service in the state of Missouri, where it has been for at least a generation, and perhaps ever since it was printed. I should be very glad if anyone could supply the title-page of the book. The Congressional Library was unable to identify it. The page-numbering is probably a sufficient mark to show it by; the ballad of "Sarah Maria Cornell" begins on p. 195.

The contents are for the most part of the broadside or what Child calls the "vulgar ballad" character, quite innocent of any literary touch, with the exception of two or three pieces. One of these is Holmes's "Ballad of the Oysterman," which seems to have acquired an early and genuine popularity, being printed here within a few years after its composition, and with variations that

Through the kindness of Mr. W. S. Johnson, of Tuscumbia, Mo.

point conclusively to oral transmission. For the rest, the range of subject and of age is considerable, but there is hardly any range of tone. From "Lord Thomas and Fair Eleanor" to "Fannie Blair," from "The Men of Kent" and "The London 'Prentice" to "The New York Trader" and "The Female Sailor," all are thoroughly of the people and for the people. Among them is a version of "Young Beichan"¹ differing in some respects from any of the versions given by Child.

Child printed as the modern "vulgar" form of "Young Beichan" the "Ballad of Lord Bateman": (1) in Vol. I, p. 476, from a London print of 1839 illustrated by Cruikshank; (2) in Vol. II, p. 508, from a broadside of Pitts of Seven Dials. The two are essentially the same, Child having printed in Vol. I from the Cruikshank copy because he had neglected to secure a broadside, and then printing from the broadside in the "Additions and Corrections" to Vol. II. Finally, in the closing "Additions and Corrections," Vol. V, p. 220, he has this note: "For the modern vulgar ballad, Catnach's is a better copy than that of Pitts. See Kidson, *Traditional Tunes*, p. 34 for Catnach." Catnach's form of the ballad I have not seen, but if so careful an editor as Child did not find it worth collating with the forms he had already printed, it is no doubt essentially identical with them. Child seems to have found no trace of this ballad in America.

The copy in *Popular Songs* is more nearly akin to the English broadsides than to the other versions given by Child, but it differs from them in several particulars. Poetically it is of the same class, though a rather better specimen of the class. It is more primitive, simpler. The heroine "round her waist has diamond strings," the hero breaks, not his sword, but "the table in pieces three." In these points it agrees with Child's versions from oral tradition, not with the broadside. But the significant difference is in the loss of traditional localization. As Professor Morf says,² "das historische Volkslied ist in steter Umbildung begriffen, und in immer weitere Ferne tritt hinter ihm das geschichtliche Ereignis zurück, um schliesslich unseren Augen

¹ CHILD'S *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 53, Vol. I.

² *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen*, Vol. CXI (1903), p. 122.

völlig zu entschwinden." All marks of British locality are gone in the American version. Lord Bakeman (a form of the name not recorded by Child, and slightly nearer to the Scotch Beichan than is the broadside form, Bateman) is a grandee neither of London nor of Northumberland, but of India. The whole story, loosed from its English moorings, has been attracted to the Orient. Susan Pye of the Scotch versions (possibly a corruption of some oriental name remembered from the time of the Crusades; the broadside had Sophia), is changed to simple Susannah, most likely by association with the biblical character of that name. Released from prison, Lord Bakeman returns to India, and it is at his palace in a city street in India that Susannah finds him. The old historical distinction between "cristendom and hethenesse" is obliterated completely (as it is also in Child's C version, which, however, keeps "Young Bekie" English—lord of "the bonny towrs o Linne"). The only exception is the "marble stones" of stanza 25, which stands for the "fountain stane" of Child's A, E, i. e., the baptismal font. The English broadside has lost every trace of this element of the original story, and is by so much farther removed than the American version from the primitive ballad. But it is highly improbable that American hearers or reciters knew the original intention of the passage. Even English social institutions are forgotten or misunderstood. Lord Bakeman's houses, not his kin, are now said to be "of high degree." Like corruptions are to be found in most of the old English ballads still sung in this part of the United States, of which there are a good many, though, so far as I have been able to learn, "Young Beichan" is not one of them.

Inasmuch as "Lord Bakeman" differs in details of language and arrangement, and to some extent of matter, from any of the versions printed by Child, I give a copy of it here.

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LORD BAKEMAN.¹

1. In India lived a noble lord,
His riches was beyond compare,
He was the darling of his parents,
And of their estate an only heir.
2. He had gold and he had silver,
And he had houses of high degree,
But still he never could be con-
tented,
Until a voyage he had been to sea.
3. He sailed east, and he sailed west,
Until he came to the Turkish
shore,
Where he was taken and put in
prison,
Where he could neither see nor
hear.
4. For seven long months he lay
lamenting,
He laid lamenting in iron bands,
There happening to see a brisk
young lady
Who set him free from his iron
chains.
5. The jailor had one only daughter,
A brisk young lady gay was she,
As she was walking across the
floor,
She chanced lord Bakeman for
to see.
6. She stole the keys of her father's
prison,
And said lord Bakeman she
would set free,
She went into the prison door,
And opened it without delay.
7. Have you got gold or have you
got silver?
Have you got houses of high
degree?
What will you give to the fair
lady,
If she from bondage will set you
free?
8. Yes, I've got gold, and I've got
silver,
And I've got houses of high degree,
I'll give them all to the fair lady,
If she from bondage set me free.
9. It's not your silver nor your gold,
Nor yet your houses of high degree,
All that I want to make me happy,
And all I crave is your fair body.
10. Let us make a bargain, and make
it strong,
For seven long years it shall stand,
For you shall not wed no other
woman,
Nor I'll not wed no other man.
11. When seven long years were gone
and past,
When seven long years were at an
end,
She packed up all her richest
clothing,
Saying, now I'll go and seek my
friend.
12. She sailed east, she sailed west,
Until she came to the Indian shore,
And there she never could be
contented,
Till for her true love she did
enquire.
13. She did enquire for lord Bake-
man's palace
At every corner of the street,
She enquired after lord Bake-
man's palace,
Of every person she chanced to
meet.
14. And when she came to lord Bake-
man's palace
She knocked so loud upon the
ring,
There's none so ready as the brisk
young porter
To rise and let this fair lady in.

¹ *Popular Songs*, pp. 171-74

15. She asked if this was lord Bakeman's palace,
Or is the lord himself within?
Yes, yes, replied the brisk young porter,
He and his bride have just entered in.
16. She wept, she wept, and rung her hands,
Crying, alas! I am undone;
I wish I was in my native country,
Across the seas there to remain.
17. Ask him to send me one ounce of bread,
And a bottle of his wine so strong,
Ask him if he's forgot the lady,
That set him free from his iron chains.
18. The porter went unto his master,
And bowed low upon his knees,
Arise, arise, my brisk young porter,
And tell me what the matter is.
19. There is a lady stands at your gate,
And she doth weep most bitterly.
I think she is as fine a creature,
As ever I wish my eyes to see.
20. She's got more rings on her four fingers,
And round her waist has diamond strings,
She's got more gold about her clothing,
Than your new bride and all her kin.
21. She wants you to send one ounce of bread,
And a bottle of your wine so strong,
And asks if you have forgot the lady,
That set you free from your prison chains.
22. He stamp'd his foot upon the floor,
He broke the table in pieces, three,
Here's adieu to you my wedded bride,
For this fair lady I will go and see.
23. Then up spoke his new bride's mother,
And she was a lady of high degree,
'Tis you have married my only daughter,
Well she is none the worse for me.
24. But since my fair one has arrived,
A second wedding there shall be;
Your daughter came on a horse and saddle,
She may return in a coach and three.
25. He took this fair lady by the hand,
And led her over the marble stones;
He changed her name from Sussannah fair,
And she now is the wife of lord Bakeman.
26. He took her by her lilly white hand,
And led her through from room to room,
He changed her name from Sussannah fair,
And she is called the wife of lord Bakeman.